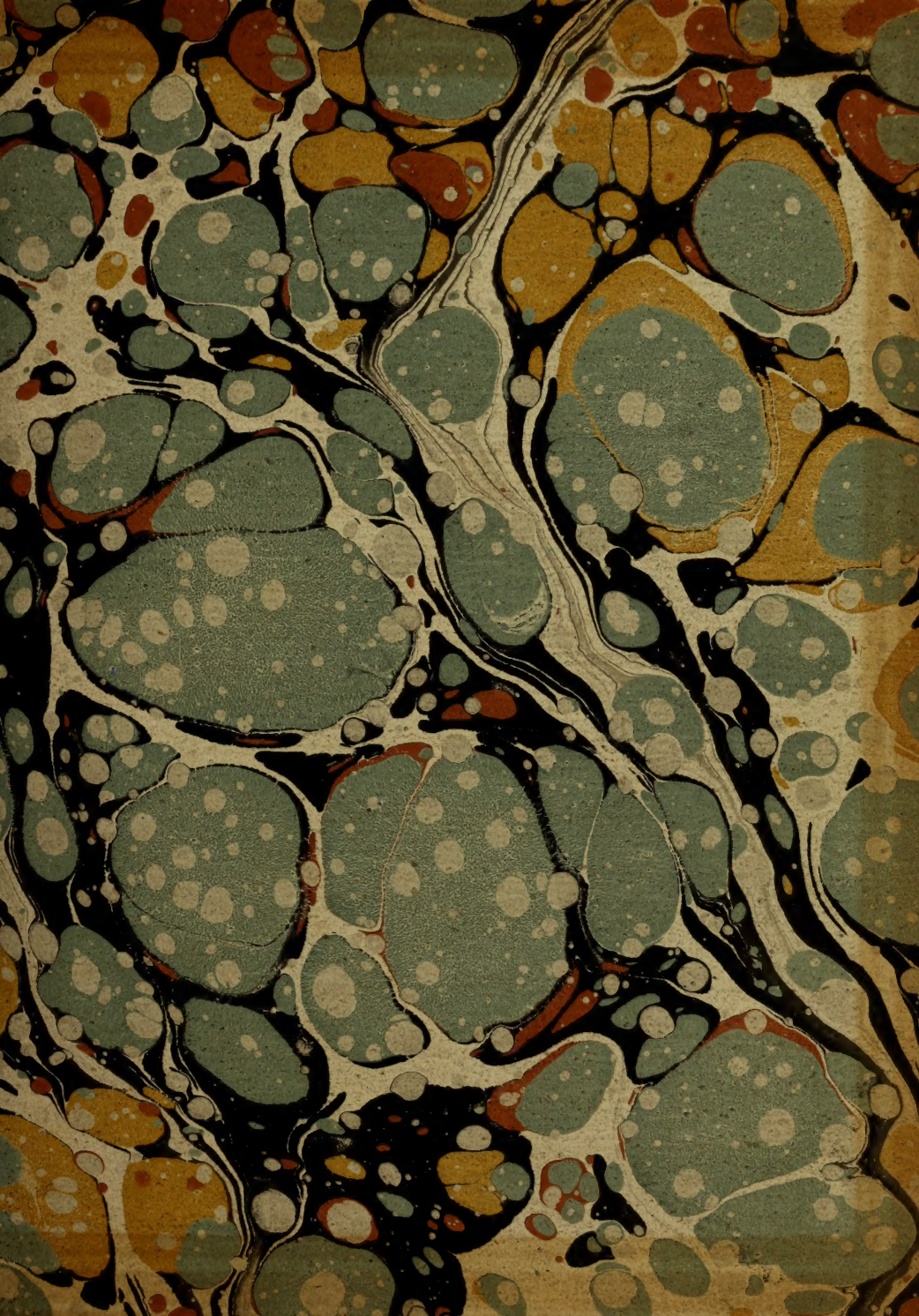
The background of the image is a traditional marbled paper pattern. It features large, irregular, organic shapes in shades of teal, mustard yellow, and burnt orange, set against a dark, almost black, background. The overall effect is reminiscent of stone or biological cells. A thin gold border is visible at the very edges of the image.

THE BOSTON  
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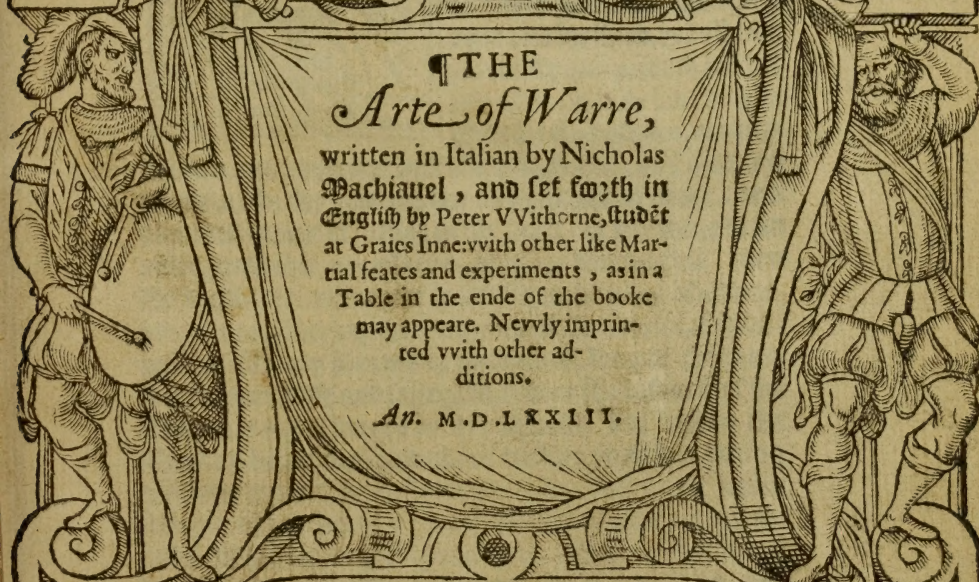






THE  
*Arte of Warre,*  
written in Italian by Nicholas  
Bachiauel, and set forth in  
English by Peter VWithorne, student  
at Graies Inne: with other like Mar-  
tial feates and experiments, as in a  
Table in the end of the booke  
may appeare. Newly imprin-  
ted vvith other ad-  
ditions.

An. M.D.LXXIII.



*John Beard*







To the moste high, and excellent  
 Princes, Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of Eng-  
 lande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the  
 faith, and of the Church of Englande, and  
 Irelande, on yearth next vnder God,  
 the supreme Governour.



Lthough commonlye euerye  
 man, most woꝛthy & renou-  
 med Soueraigne, seeketh  
 specially to commend and  
 extolle the thing, where vnto  
 he feleth himselſe naturally  
 bent and inclined, yet all ſuch  
 parcialty and priuate affectiō  
 laid aſide, it is to bee thought  
 (that foꝛ the defence, mainte-  
 nance, and aduancemēt of a Kingdome, oꝛ Common  
 weale, oꝛ foꝛ the good and due obseruacion of peace, and  
 administracion of iustice in the same) no one thing to be  
 moꝛe profitable, necessarye, oꝛ moꝛe honourable, then  
 the knowledge of seruice in warre, and deedes of armes,  
 because considering the ambicion of the worlde, it is im-  
 possible foꝛ any Reame oꝛ dominion, long to continue  
 frē in quietnesse and sauegard, where the defence of the  
 sword is not alwayes in a readinesse. Foꝛ like as the  
 Grækes, being occupied about trifling matters, taking  
 pleasure in resiting of Comedies, and ſuch other vaine  
 thinges, altogether neglecting Martial feates, gaue oc-  
 caſion to Philip king of Macedonia, father to Alexander  
 the Great, to oppresse & to bzing them in seruitude, vnder  
 his subiection: euen so vndoubtedly, liberty will not  
 be kept, but men shall be troden vnder foote, & bꝛought  
 to most horrible miserie and calamitie, if they giuing  
 them selues to pastimes & pleasure, foꝛ sake the iust re-  
 garde of their owne defence, & sauegard of their couētrie,  
 which in tēpoꝛall regiment, chiefly consisteth in war-  
 like skulfulnesse. And therfoꝛe the auncient Capitaynes  
 a. y. and

## The Epistle.

and mightie Conquerours, so long as they flourished, did denise with most great diligence, all maner of wayes, to bying their men to the perfecte knowledge of what so euer thing appertayned to the warre, as manifestly appeareth by the warlike games, whiche in olde time the Princes of Grecia ordayned, vpon the mount Olympus, and also by the orders and exercises, that the auncient Romaines vsed in sundry places, and specially in Campo Martio, and in their wonderfull sumptuous Theaters, which chiefly they buylded to that purpose. Wherby they not onely made their Souldiours so expert, that they obtayned with a fewe, in fighting againste a great honge multitude of enemies, such maruailous victozies, as in many credible Hystozies are mencioned, but also by the same meanes, their vnarmed and rascalle people that followed their Campes, got such vnderstanding in the feates of warre, that they in the day of battail, being left destitute of succour, were able without anye other helpe, to set them selues in good order. for their defence against the enemy, that would seeke to hurt them, and in such daungerous times, haue done their countrie so good seruice, that verie often by their helpe, the aduersaries haue bene put to flight, and fields most happely wonne. So that the antiquitie esteemed nothing moze happy in a common weale, then to haue in the same manye men skilfull in warlike affaires: by meanes whereof their Empire continually enlarged, & most wonderfully and triumphantly prospered. For so long as men for their valiauntnesse, were then rewarded and had in estimation, glad was he that coulde finde occasion to venter, yea and spende his life, to benefite his countrie: as by the manly actes that Marcus Curcius, Oracius Cocles, & Gaius Mucius did for the sauegarde of Rome, and also by oother innumerable like examples, doth plainly appeare. But when through long & continual peace, they began to be altogether giuen to pleasure and delicatenes, little re-

gar



## Dedicatorie.

garding Partiall seates, noz such as were expert in the practise therof: Their dominions and estates, did not so much befoze increase & prosper, as then by such means and ouersight, they sodainly fell into decay & vtter ruine. For such truly is the nature and condicion, both of peace and warre, that where in gouernement, there is not had equal consideracion of them both, the one in fine, doth worke and induce, the others obliuion and vtter abolition. Wherefoze, sith the necessitie of the science of warres is so great, and also the necessarie vse therof so manifest, that euen Lady Peace her selfe, doth in maner from thence craue her chiefe defence and preservation, and the worthinesse mozeouer, and honour of the same so great, that as by prooue we see, the perfecte glozve thereof, can not easlye finde roote, but in the hartes of most noble couragious & manlike personages. I thought most excellent Princes, I coulde not either to the speciall gratefying of your highnesse, the vniuersal delight of all studious gentlemen, or the common vtilitie of the publike wealth, imploye my labours moze profitable in accomplishing of my duetie and good will, then in setting forth some thing, that might induce to the augmenting and increase of the knowledge therof: in especiallye the example of your highnesse most politike gouernemente ouer vs, giuing plaine testimonie of the wonderfull prudente desire that is in you, to haue your people instructed in this kinde of seruice, as well for the better defence of your highnesse, then selues, and their countrie, as also to discourage they by, and to be able to resist the malignitie of the enemye, who otherwise would seeke peraduenture, to invade this noble realme or kingdome.

When therefore about tenne yeres past, in the Emperours warres against the Mozes, & certayne Turkes being in Barberie, at the siege and winning of Cahbia, Monesterio and Affrica, I had as well for my further instruction in those affaires, as also the better to

## The Epistle

acquaint mee with the Italian tongue, reduced into English, the booke called The arte of VVarre, of the famous and excellent Nicholas Machiauel, which in times past he being a counsailour, and Secretarie of the noble Citie of Florence, not without his great laude and praise did write: and hauing lately againe, somewhat perused the same, the which in such continuall broiles and vniquietnesse, was by mee translated, I determined with my selfe, by publishing therof, to bestowe as great a gift (since greater I was not able) amongst my countrie men, not expert in the Italian tongue, as in like works I had seene befoze mee, the Frenchemen, Dutchemen, Spaniardes, and other fozyreyn nations, most louingly to haue bestowed amongst theirs: The rather vndoubtedly, that as by pziuate reading of y<sup>e</sup> same booke, I then felt my selfe in that knowledge maruailously holpen & increased, so by communicating the same to many, our Englishmen finding out the ordering and disposing of exploitides of warre therein contayned, the aide and direction of these plaine and bziefe pzeceptes, mighte no lesse in knowlege of warres become incomparable, then in pzioues also and exercise of the same altogether inuincible: which my translacion most gracious Soueraigne, together with such other things, as by me hath beene gathered, & thought good to adde ther vnto, I haue presumed to dedicate vnto your highnes: not onely because the whole charge and furniture of warlike counsailes and preparacions, being determined by the arbitremen of Governours and Princes, the treatise also of like effect should in like maner as of righte, depende vpon the protection of a most worthy and noble Patronesse, but also that the discourse it selfe, & the worke of a fozrayn authoz, vnder the passpozt & safecoñdicit of your highnes most noble name, might by speciall aucthoritie of the same, winne amongst your Maiesties subiectes, much better credite and estimacion. And if most mighty

Quene



## Dedicatorie.

Quene, in this kinde of Philosophie (if I may so terme it) graue & sage counsailes, learned and wittye pzecepts, or pollitike and pzudent admonitions, oughte not to be accounted the least and basest iewels of weale publike. Then dare I boldely affirme, that of many straungers, whiche from soze yn countries, haue heretofoze in this your Maiesties realme arriued, there is none in compassion to be pzeferred, befoze this woꝛthy Flozentine and Italian, who hauing freelye without anye gaine of exchange (as after some acquaintaunce and familiaritie will better appeare) bzought with him most ritche, rare and plentifull Treasure, shall deserue I trust of all good English hartes, most louingly and friendly to be intertayned, imbzaced and cherished. Whose newe Englishe apparel, howe so euer it shall seme by mee, after a grosse fashion, moze fitly appointed to the Campe, then in nice termes attired to the Carpet, and in course clothing rather put foꝛth to battaile, then in any bzaue shewe pzepared to the banket, neuerthelesse my good will I trust, shall of your grace be taken in good part, hauing fashioned the pzhaise of my rude stile, euen accoꝛding to the purpose of my trauaile, which was rather to pzoofite the desirous man of warre, then to delight the eares of the fine Rethozician, or daintie curious scholeman. Moste humbly beseeching your highnes, so to accept my labour herin, as the first fructs of a poze souldiours studie, who so the vttermost of his smal power, in the seruice of your most gracious maiestie, and of his countrie, will at all times, accoꝛding to his bounden duetie and allegeaunce, promptly yeeld him self to any labour, trauaile, or daunger, what so euer shall happē. Pzaying in the meane season the almightie God, to giue your highnes in long pzo-sperous raigne, perfect health, desired tranquillitie, and against all your enemies, lucky and ioyfull victozie.

Your humble subiect and dayly  
orator, Peter Whitehorne,





# The Proheme of Nicholas Ma.

chiauel, Citezen and Secretary of Florence, vpon  
*his booke of the Arte of vuarre, vnto Lau-*  
rence Philippe Strozze, one of  
the Nobilitie of  
Florence.

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Here haue Laurence, manye helde, and do holde this opinio, that ther is no maner of thing, which lesse agréeth y one with the other, noz that is so much vnlike, as the ciuill life, to the Souldiours. Wherby it is often sene, that if anye determine in the exercise of that kinde of seruice to preuaile,

that incontinent he doth not onely chaunge in apparell, but also in custome and maner, in voyce, and from the fashion of all ciuill vse, he doth alter: For that he thinketh not méete to cloth with ciuill apparell, him who will be redy, and prompt to all kinde of violence, noz the ciuil customes, and vsages may that man haue, the which iudgeth both those customes to be effeminate, and those vsages not be agréable to his profession: For it séemes not conuenient for him to vse the ciuil gesture and ordinarie wordes, who with facing and blasphemies, will make afraied other men: the which causeth in this time, suche opinion to be most true. But if they shoulde consider thannient orders, there shoulde nothing be founde moze vnitied, moze confirmable, and that of necessitye ought to loue so much the one the other, as these: for as muche as all the artes that are ordeyned in a common weale, in regarde or respect of common profite of men, all the orders made in the same, to liue with feare of the Lawe, and of God, shoulde bée bayne, if by force of

# The Proheme.

armes their defence were not prepared, which well ordeyned, do maintaine those also which be not well ordeyned. And likewise to the contrarie, the good orders, without the Souldiours helpe, no lesse or otherwise do disorder, then the habitation of a sumptuous & royall palais, although it were deckt with golde and precious stones, when without being couered, shoulde not haue where with to defende it from the raine. And if in what so euer other orders of cities and kingdomes there hath bene vsed all diligence for to maintayne men faithfull, peaceable, and full of the feare of God, in the seruice of warre, it was doubled: for in what man ought the countrie to seeke greater faith, then in him, who muste promise to die for the same? In who ought there to be moze loue of peace, then in him, whiche onely by the warre may be hurt? In whom ought there to be moze feare of God, then in him, which euery day committing him self to infinite perilles, hath most neede of his helpe? This necessitie considered well, both of them that gaue the lawes to Empires, and of those that to the exercise of seruice were appointed, made y the life of Souldiours, of other men was praised, and with all studie followed and imitated. But the orders of seruice of warre, being altogether corrupted, and a great waye from the aunciente maners altered, there hath growen these sinistrous opinions, which maketh men to hate the warlike seruice, and to flie the conuersation of those that do exercise it. Albeit I iudging by the same, that I haue seene & read, that it is not a thing impossible, to bring it againe to the aunciente maners, and to giue it some fashion of the vertue passed, I haue determined to the entent not to passe this my ydle time, without doing some thing, to write that which I do vnderstande, of the arte of warre, to the satisfiung of those, who are lovers of auncient actes. And although it be a bolde thing to intreate of the same matter, wherof otherwise I haue made no profession.



# The Proheme. *Fol.ij.*

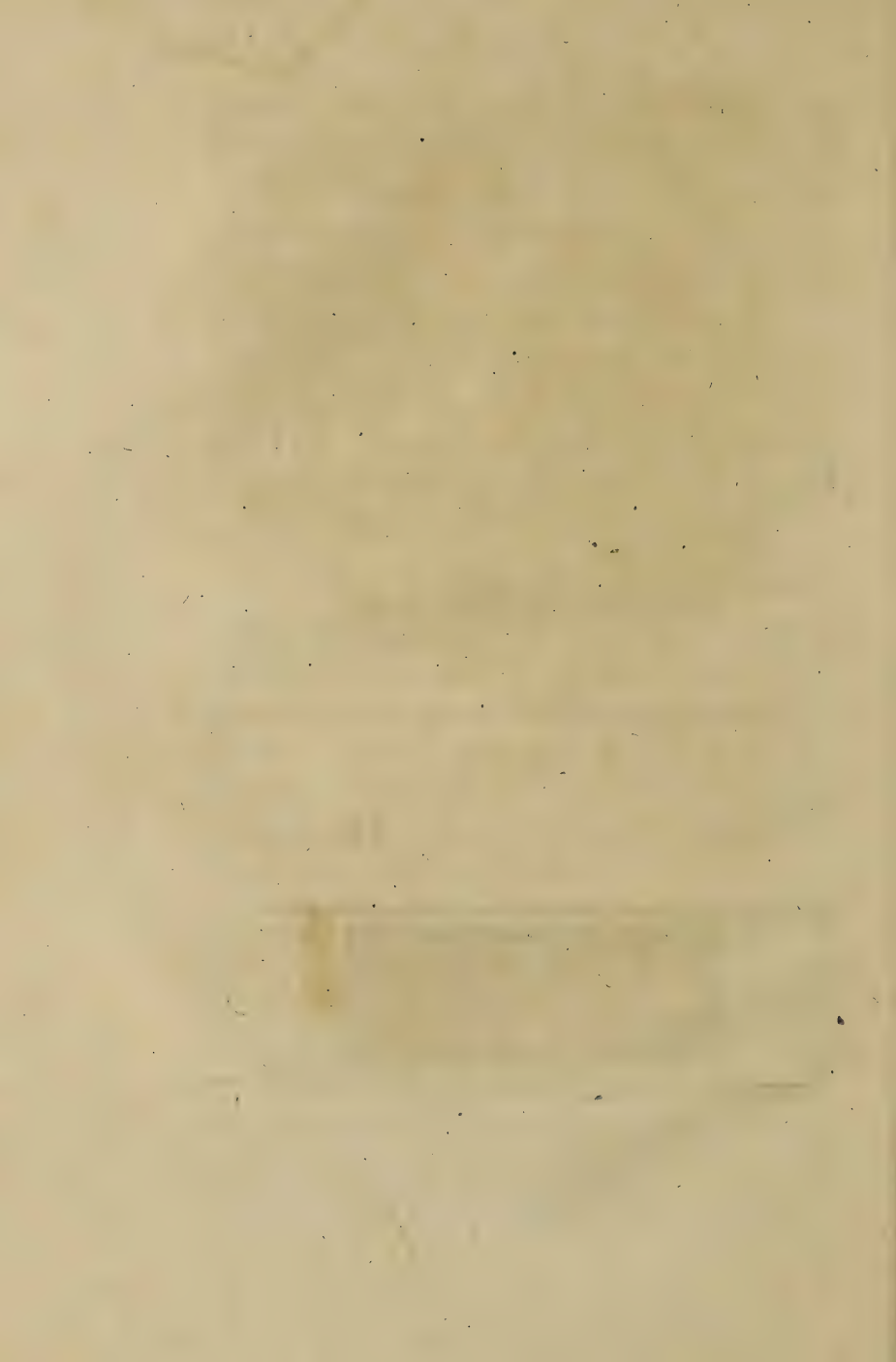
ston, notwithstanding I beleeue it is no error to occupie with woꝝdes a degre, the which manye with greater presumption with their deedes haue occupied: for as muche as the errors that I maye happen to make by writing, may be without harme to any man corrected: but those the whiche of them be made in doing, can not be knowen without the ruine of Empires. Therefore Laurence you ought to consider the qualitie of this my labour, and with your iudgement to giue it that blame, or that praise, as shall seeme vnto you it hath deserued. The which I sende vnto you, as well to shew my selfe gratefull, although my abilitie reche not to the benefites, which I haue receyued of you, as also for that being the custome to honour with like woꝝkes them, who for nobilitie, riches, wisdom, and liberalitie do shine: I knowe you for riches, and nobilitie, not to haue manye peeres, for wisdom few, and for liberalitie none.

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F I N I S.

Ag.







The firste booke of the arte of warre,  
of Nicholas Machiavel, Citezen and Secretarie  
of Florence, vnto Laurence Philip Strozze,  
one of the Nobilitie of  
Florence.



Orasmuche as I beleue that  
after death, all men maye be  
praised without charge, all  
occasion and suspect of flatter-  
ry being taken away, I shall  
not doubt to praise oure Co-  
simo Ruchellay, whose name  
was neuer remembred of mee  
without teares, hauing kno-  
wen in him those condicions,

the which in a god friende or in a Citezen, might of his  
friendes, or of his countrye, be desired: for that I do not  
know what thing was so much his, not excepting anye  
thing (sauing his soule) which for his friends willingly  
of him should not haue bene spent: I know not what en-  
terpryse should haue made him afraied, where the same  
should haue bene knowen to haue bene for the benefit  
of his countrey. And I do plainlye confesse, not to haue  
met amongst so many men, as I haue knowen, and  
practised withall, a man, whose minde was moze infla-  
med then his, vnto great and magnificent thinges. For  
he lamented not with his friendes of anye thing at his  
death, but because he was bozne to die a young man  
within his owne house, befoze hee had gotten honour,  
and according to his desire, holpen any man: for that he  
knewe, that of him coulde not bee spoken other, sauing  
that there should be dead a god friende. Yet it resteth  
not for this, that we, and what soeuer other that as  
we dyd knowe him, are not able to testifie (seeing his  
workes do not appeare) of his laudable qualities. True it

## The first Booke of

It is, that fortune was not for all this, so much his enemy, that it leste not some briefe recorde of the readinesse of his wit, as doeth declare certayne of his writings, and setting forth of amorous verses, wherein (although he were not in loue) yet for that he would not consume time in bayne, till vnto profounder studies fortune should haue broughte him, in his youthfull age he exercised himselfe. Wherby most playnly maye be comprehended, with howe much felicitie he dyd describe his conceiptes, and howe much for Poetrie he should haue bene esteemed, if the same for the ende therof, had of him bene exercised. Fortune hauing therfore depriued vs from the vse of so great a friende, mee thinketh there can bee founde no other remedy, then as muche as is possible, to seeke to inioye the memozy of the same, and to repeate suche thinges as hath bene of him either wittelye sayde, or wiselye disputed. And for as muche as there is nothing of him moze freshe, then the reasoning, the which in his last dayes Signior Fabritio Collonna, in his Orcharde had with him, where largelye of the same gentilman were disputed matters of warre, both wittlye and prudently, for the mosse parte of Cosimo demaunded, I thought good for that I was presente there with certayne other of our friendes, to bring it to memozye, so that reading the same, the friendes of Cosimo, which thither came, might renewe in their mindes, the remembraunce of his vertue: and the other parte being soye for their absence, might partlye learne hereby manye thinges profitable, not onely to the life of Souldiours, but also to ciuill mens liues, whiche grauely of a mosse wise man was disputed. Wherefore I saye, that Fabritio Collonna retourning out of Lombardie, where long time greatlye to his glozye, he had serued in the warres the catholique king, he determined, passing by Florence, to rest him selfe certayne dayes in the same Citie, to

visite



visite the Dukes excellencie, and to see certayne gentlemen, whiche in times paste hee had bene acquainted withall. For which cause, vnto Cosimo it was thought best to bid him into his Orchard, not so much to vse his liberalitie, as to haue occasion to talke with him at leisure, and of him to vnderstande and to learne diuers things, according as of such a mā may be hoped for, seeing to haue occasiō to spend a day in reasoning of such matters, whiche to his minde shoulde best satisfie him. When Fabritio came, according to his desire, and was receyued of Cosimo together, with certayn of his trustie friends, amongstest whome were Zanoby Buondelmonti, Baptiste Palla, and Luigi Allamanni, all young men loued of him, and of the verye same studies moste ardent, whose good qualities, for as muche as euery day, and at euery houre they do prayse them selues, wee will omit. Fabritio was then according to the time & place honoured, of all these honours, that they could possible deuise: But the banketting pleasures being passed, & the table taken vp, & all preparation of feastinges consumed, the which are sone at an end in sight of great men, who to honozable studies haue their mindes set, the day being long, and the heate muche, Cosimo iudged for to contente better his desire, that it were well done, taking occasion to auoyde the heate, to bzing him into the moste secreete, and shadowest place of his garden.

Where they being come, and caused to sit, some vpon herbes, some in the coldest places, other vpon litle seats whiche there was ordeyned, vnder the shadowe of most high trees, Fabritio praiseth the place, to be delectable, and particularly considering the trees, and not knowing some of the, he did stand musing in his minde, whereof Cosimo being a ware, said, you haue not peradventure bene acquainted with some of these sortes of trees: But do not maruaile at it, for as muche as there be some, that were moze esteemed of the antiquitie, then they

Howe Senior Fabritio Collonna & other gentlemen being together in a garden, entered into talke of matters of warre.

## The first Booke of

they are commonly nowe a dayes : and he tolde him the names of them , and howe Barnardo his graundfather dyd traouayle in such kinde of planting: Fabritio replied, I thought it should be the same you saye, and this place, and this study, made me to remember certayne Princes of the Kingdome of Naples, which of these auncient tillage and shadowe do delight. And staying vpon this talke, and some what standing in a studie, sayde mozeouer, if I thought I shoulde not offende, I would tell my opinion, but I beleue I shall not, communing with friendes, and to dispute of thinges, and not to condempne them. How much better they should haue done (be it spoken without displeasure to anye man) to haue soughte to bee like the antiquitie in thinges strong, and sharpe, not in the delicate and soft: and in those that they dyd in the sunne, not in the shadowe: and to take the true and perfect maners of the antiquitie: not those that are false and corrupted: for that when these studies pleased my Romaynes, my countrye fell into ruine. Unto which Cosimo answered. But to auoide the tediousnesse to reapeate so many times he sayde, and the other answered, there shalbe onely noted the names of those that speakes, without rehearsing other.

Then Cosimo sayde, you haue opened the waye of a reasoning, whiche I haue desired, and I praye you that you will speake without respect, for that, that I without respect will aske you, and if I demaunding, or replying shall excuse, or accuse anye, it shall not be to excuse, or accuse, but to vnderstande of you the trueth.

Fabritio. And I shall be very well contented to tell you that, which I vnderstande of all the same that you shall aske me, the which if it shall be true, or no, I will repozie mee to your iudgemente: and I will bee glad that you aske mee, for that I am to learne, as well of you in asking mee, as you of mee in answering you: for as muche as manye times, a wise demaunder, maketh



keeth one to consider manye thing, and to knowe many o-  
 ther, which without hauing bene demaunded, he shoulde  
 neuer haue knowen. Cosimo. I will retourne to the same  
 that you said firſte, that my graundfather and thoſe your  
 Princes, ſhoulde haue done moze wiſely, to haue reſem-  
 bled the antiquitie in harde things, then in the delicate, &  
 I will excuſe my part, ſoz that, the other I ſhall leaue to  
 excuſe ſoz you. I do not beleue that in this time was any  
 man, that ſo much deteſted the living in eaſe, as he dyd,  
 and that ſo much was a louer of the ſame hardenelle of  
 life, which you prayſe: notwithstanding he knewe not  
 howe to be able in perſon, noz in thoſe of his ſonnes to  
 uſe it, being bozne in ſo cozrupte a woꝛlde, where one  
 that woulde digreſſe from the common uſe, ſhoulde be  
 infamed and diſdayned of euery man: conſidering that if  
 one in the hottelt day of Sommer being naked, ſhould  
 wallow himſelfe vpon the Sande, oz in Winter in the  
 moſt coldeſt monethes vpon the ſnowe, as Deogenes  
 dyd, he ſhoulde be taken as a ſoule. If one (as the Spar-  
 tans were wonte to do) ſhould nouriſhe his childzen in a  
 hillage, making them to ſleepe in the open ayze, to go with  
 head and feete naked, to waſhe them ſelues in the colde  
 water ſoz to harden them, to be able to abide mucche  
 payne, and ſoz to make them to loue leſſe life, & to feare  
 leſſe death, he ſhoulde be ſcoꝛned, and ſoner taken as a  
 wilde beaſt, then as a man. If there were ſcene alſo one,  
 to nouriſhe himſelfe with peaſon and beanes, and to de-  
 ſpiſe golde, as Fabritio doth, he ſhould be prayſed of few,  
 and followed of none: ſo that he being afraid of this  
 preſent maner of living, he left thauꝛcient facions, and  
 the ſame, that he could with leſt admiration imitate in  
 the antiquitie, he dyd.

Fabritio. You haue excuſed it in this parte moſte  
 ſtrongly and ſurely you ſaie the trueth: but I did not  
 ſpeake ſo mucche of this harde maner of living, as of o-  
 ther maners moze humane, and whiche haue with the

## The first Booke of

life now a daies greater cōformitie. The which I do not beleeue, y it hath bēen difficult to bzing to passe vnto one, who is nōvred amongst Princes of a Citie: for y prouing wherof, I wil neuer seeke other, then the example of the Romanes. Whose liues, if they were well cōsidered, & the orders of the same cōmon weale, there should therein be seene many things, not impossible to induce into a cōminaltie, so that it had in her any good thing. Cosi. What things are those, y you would induce like vnto y antiquitie. Fabritio. To honour, & to rewarde vertue, not to despise pouerty, to esteeme the maners and orders of warfare, to constraine the Citezens to loue one an other, to liue without sectes, to esteeme lesse the priuate, then the publike, and other like things, that easily might be with this time accompanied: the which maners are not difficulte to bzing to passe, when a man should well consider them, and enter therein by due meanes: for asmuche as in the same, the trueth so much appeareth, that euery cōmon wit, may easely perceyue it: which thing, who that ozdeyneth, doth plant trees, vnder the shadowe whereof, they abide moze happy, and moze pleasauntly, then vnder these shadowes of this godly garden. Cosimo. I will not speake any thing against the same that you haue said but I will leaue it to be iudged of those, whom easily can iudge, and I will tourne my communication to you, that is an accular of them, the which in graue, and great doinges, are not followers of y antiquitie, thinking by this way moze easely to be in my entent satisfied. Therfoze, I would knowe of you wherof it groweth, that of the one side you condemne those, that in their doinges resemble not the antiquitie? Of the other, in the warre, which is your Arte, wherin you are iudged excellent, it is not seene, that you haue indeuoured your selfe, to bzing the same to any suche ende, oz anye thing at all resembled therein the auncient maners. Fabritio. You are happened vpon the point, where I looked: for that my talke de-



serued no other question: no; I desired other: and albe  
it that I could saue my selfe with an easie excuse, not  
withstanding for my more contentation, and yours, see-  
ing that the season beareth it, I will enter in much lon-  
ger reasoning. Those men, which will enterprize anye  
thing, ought first with all diligence to prepare them sel-  
ues, to be ready and apte when occasion serueth, to ac-  
complish that, whiche they haue determined to worke:  
and for that when the preparations are made craftely,  
they are not knowen, there cannot be accused any mā  
of any negligence, if first it be not disclosed by the occa-  
sion: in the which working not, is after sene, either that  
there is not prepared so much as suffiseth, or that there  
hath not bene of any part therof thought vpon. And for  
as much as to mee there is not come any occasion to be  
able, to shewe the preparations made of mee, to reduce  
the seruice of warre into his auncient orders, if I haue  
not reduced it, I can not be of you, no; of other blamed:  
I belæue this excuse shoulde suffice for aunswere to  
your accusation. Cosimo. It shoulde suffice, when I  
were certaine, that the occasion were not come. Fabri-  
tio. But for that I knowe, that you may doubt whe-  
ther this occasion hath bene come, or no, I will large-  
lye (when you with pacience will heare mee) discourse  
what preparations are necessarye first to make, what  
occasion must growe, what difficultie doth let, that the  
preparacions helpe not, and why the occasion can not  
come, & how these thinges at ones, which seeme cōtrary  
ends, is most difficult, & most easie to do. Cos. You cannot  
do both to me, & vnto these other, a thing more thank-  
full then this. And if to you it shall not bee tedious to  
speke, vnto vs it shal neuer be græuous to heare: but for  
asmuch as this reasoning ought to be long, I will with  
your license take helpe of these my friendes: & they, and  
I praye you of one thing, that is, that you will not be  
græued, if some time with some question of impo-

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taunce, we interrupte you. Fabritio. I am most well contented, that you Cosimo with these other young men here, do aske mee: for that I beleue, that youthfullnesse, will make you louers of warlike things, and moze easie to beleue the same, that of mee shalbe sayd. These other, by reason of hauing nowe their head white, and for hauing vpon their backes their blood cōgeled, parte of them are wont to be enemies of warre, parte vncōrectable, as those, whom beleue, that times, and not the naughtye maners, constrayne men to liue thus: so that safely aske you all of mee, and without respect: the whiche I desire, as well, for that I maye be vnto me a litle ease, as also for that I shal haue pleasure, not to leaue in your minde any doubt. I will begin at your wordes, where you saide vnto me, that in the warre, that is my arte, I had not indeuoured to bzing it to anye auncient ende: wher vpon I say, as this being an art, wherby men of no maner of age can liue honestly, it can not bee vsed for an arte, but of a common weale: or of a Kingdome: and the one and the other of these, when they be well ordyened, will neuer consente to anye their Citezens, or Subiectes, to vse it for anye arte, nor neuer anye god man doeth exercise it for his particulare arte: for as muche as god be shall neuer be iudged, whome maketh an exercise thereof, where purposing alwayes to gaine thereby, it is requisite for him to be rauening, deceyptfull, violente, and to haue manye qualities, the whiche of necessitie maketh him not god: nor those men can not, whiche vse it for an arte, as well the great as the leaste, bee made otherwise: for that this Arte doeth not nourishe them in peace. Wherefoze they are constrayned, either to thinke that there is no peace, or so muche to ppenaile in the time of warre, that in peace they maye bee able to keepe them selues: and neither of these two thoughtes happeneth in a god man: for that in minding to bee able to finde him selfe at all times

Why a good man ought neuer to vse the exercise of armes, as his Arte.



times, do growe robberies, violence, slaughters, which the such Souldiours make as well to the friendes, as to the enemies: and in minding not to haue peace, there groweth deceyptes, which the Capitaynes vse to those, which hire them, to the entent the warre may continue, and yet though the peace come often, it happeneth that the Captaynes being depriued of their stipendes, and of their licencious liuing, they erecte an ansigne of aduenures, and without anye pitie they put to sacke a Prouince. Haue not you in memoire of your affaires, howe that being manye Souldiours in Italic without wages, because the warre was ended, they assembled together manye companies, and went faring the towne, and sacking the countrie, without being able to make anye remedy? Haue you not read, that the Carthagenes souldiours, the first warre being ended which they had with the Romanes, vnder Matho, and Spendio, two Capitaynes, rebelliously constituted of them, made moze perillous warre to the Carthagenes, then the same which they had ended with the Romanes? In the time of our fathers, Fraunces Sforza, to the entent to bee able to liue honourable in the time of peace, not onely beguiled the Millenars, whose souldiour he was, but he tooke from them their libertie and became their Prince. Like vnto him hath bene all the other Souldiours of Italic, which haue vsed warfare, for their particular Arte, and albeit they haue not through their malignitie become Dukes of Milein, so muche the moze they deserue to bee blamed: for that although they haue not gotten so muche as he, they haue all (if their liues were seene) sought to bring the like things to passe. Sforza father of Fraunces, constrained Quene Ione, to cast her self into the armes of the king of Aragon, hauing in a sodaine forsaken her: and in the middest of her enemies, leste her disarmed, onely to satisfie his ambition, either in faring her, or taking from her the kingdome. Braccio with the very  
same

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A Prouerbe  
of vvarre &  
peace.

same industrie, sought to possesse the kingdome of Pa-  
ples, and if he had not bene ouerthowen and slaine at  
Aquila, hee had brought it to passe. Like disorders grow  
not of other, then of such men as hath bene, that vse the  
exercise of warfare, for their proper arte. Haue not you  
a Prouerbe, whiche testifieth my reasons, which saith,  
that warre maketh Thæues, and peace hangeth them  
vp? For as muche as those, whiche knowe not howe  
to liue of other exercise, and in the same finding not any  
man to sustayne them, and hauing not so muche power,  
to knowe howe to reduce themselues together, to make  
an open rebellion, they are constrained of necessitye to  
Kobbe in the highe wayes, and Justice is enforced to  
extinguishe them. Cosimo. You haue made mee to e-  
steeme this arte of warfare almoste as nothing, and I  
haue supposed it the most excellentest, and moste hono-  
rablest that hath bene vsed: so that if you declare mee it  
not better, I cannot remayne satisfied: For that when  
it is the same, that you saye, I knowe not, wherof grow-  
eth the glozpe of Cæsar, of Pompei, of Scipio, of Mar-  
cello, & of so manye Romane Capitaynes, whiche by  
same are celebated as Goddes. Fabritio. I haue not  
yet made an ende of disputing all the same, that I pur-  
posed to propounde: whiche were twō thinges, the one  
that a good manne coulde not vse this exercise for his  
Arte: the other, that a common weale or a kingdome  
well gouerned, did neuer permit, that their Subiectes  
or Citezens shoulde vse it for an Arte. About the firste,  
I haue spoken as much as hath comen into my minde  
there remaineth in mee to speake of the seconde, where  
I wyll come to aunswere this your laste question,  
and I saye that Pompei and Cæsar, and almost all those  
Capitaynes, whiche were at Rome, after the last Car-  
thagenens warre, gotte same as valiaunt men, not as  
god, and those which liued befoze them, got glozpe as  
valiaunt and good men: the which grewe, for that these  
tooke



toke not the exercise of warre for their Arte: and those whiche I named firste, as their arte did vse it. And so long as the common weale liued vnspotted, neuer anye Noble Citezen would presume, by the meanes of suche exercise, to auayle therby in peace, breaking the lawes, spoyling the Prouinces, vsurping, and playing the Tyrant in the Countrey, and in euerye maner preuayling: nor anye of howe lowe degree so euer they were, would go aboute to violate the Religion, confederating them selues with priuate men, not to feare the Senate, or to followe any Tyrannicall insolence, for to bee able to liue with the Arte of warre in all times.

But those whiche were Capitaynes, contented with triumphe, with desire did turne to their priuate life, and those which were members, would bee more willing to lay away their weapons, then to take them, & euerye man tourned to his science, whereby they got their liuing: for there was neuer any, that would hope with pray, and with this Arte, to be able to finde themselues. Of this there maye be made concerning Citezens, most euident coniecture, by the ensample of Regolo Attilio, who being Capitayne of the Romane armies in Affrica, and hauing as it were ouercome the Carthagenens, he required of the Senate, licence to returne home, to kepe his possessions, & tolde them, that they were made of his husbandmen. Whereby it is more cleare then the sunne, that if the same man had vsed the warre as his Arte, and by meanes thereof, had purposed to haue made it profitable vnto him, hauing in prayse so many Prouinces, he would not haue asked licence, to returne to keepe his feeldes: for as muche as euery day he might other wise haue gotten much more, then the value of all those possessions: but by cause these good men, & suche as vse not the warre for their art, wil not take of the same any thing then labour, perilles, and glozie, when they  
are

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are sufficiently glorious, they desire to returne home and to liue of their owne science. Concernyng men of lowe degree, and common souldiours, to proue that they kepte very same order, it doeth appeare that every one willingly absented them selues from such exercise, and when they serued not in the warre, they would haue desired to serue, and when they dyd serue, they would haue desired leaue not to haue serued: which is well knowne thzough many insamples, and in especiallye seeing howe among the first priuileges, which the Romayne people gaue to their Citezens was, y they should not be cōstrayned against their willes, to serue in the warres. Therfoze, Rome so long as it was well gouerned, which was vntill the comming of Graccus, it had not anye Souldiour that would take this exercise for an arte, and therefore it had fewe naughty, and those fewe were seuerelye punished. Then a Citie well gouerned, ought to desire, that this studie of warre, be vsed in time of peace for exercise, and in the time of warre, for necessitie and for glorie: and to suffer only the common weale to vse it for an arte, as Rome dyd, and what soeuer Citezen, that hath in suche exercise other ende, is not good, and what so euer Citie is gouerned otherwise, is not well ordeyned. Cosimo. I remayne contented enough and satisfied of the same, which hetherto you haue told, & this conclusion pleaseth me very well which you haue made, and as much as is looked for touching a common wealth, I beleaue that it is true, but concerning kings, I can not tell nowe, for that I woulde beleaue that a kinge woulde haue about him, whome particularlye should take suche exercise for his arte. Fabritio. A kingdome well ordered ought most of all to auoide the like kinde of men, for onely they, are the destruction of their king, and altogether ministers of tyrannye, and alledge mee not to the contrary any present kingdome, for that I would denye you all those to be kingdomes well orde-



red, because the kingdomes whiche haue good orders, giue not their absolute Empire vnto their king, sauing in the armies, soz as muche as in this place onelye, a quicke deliberation is necessarye, and soz this cause a principall power ought to be made. In the other affaires, he ought not to do any thing without counsell, and those are to be feared, whiche counsell him, least hee haue some about him which in time of peace desireth to haue warre, because they are not able without the same to liue, but in this, I wilbe a litle moze large: neither to seake a kingdom together good, but like vnto those, which be nowe a dayes, where also of a king those ought to be feared, which take the warre soz their art, soz that the strength of armies without any doubt are the fote men: so that if a king take not order in suche wise, that his men in time of peace maye be content to retourne home, and to liue of their owne trades, it will follow of necessitie, that he ruinate: soz that there is not founde moze perillous men, then those, which make the warre as their arte: because in suche case, a king is inforced either alwayes to make warre, or to paye them alwaies or else to be in perill, that they take not from him his kingdom. To make warre alwaies, it is not possible: to paye them alwaies it can not be: see that of necessitie, he runneth in peril to leese the state. The Romanes (as I haue saide) so long as they were wise & good, woulde neuer permit, that their Citizens should take this exercise soz their arte, although they were able to nourish the therein alwaies, soz y that alwaies they made ware: but to auoide the same hurte, whiche this continuall exercise might do them, seeing the time did not varye, they changed the men, and from time to time tooke such order with their Legions, that in xv. yeres alwayes, they renewed them: and so they had their men in the floure of their age, that is from xviii. to xxxiiij. yeres, in whiche time the legges, the handes, and the eyes answer the

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they be men, who make thereof an Arte, and of them  
their should growe euery daye a thousande inconueni-  
ences in the states, where they should be, if they were  
accompanied of sufficient company: but being few, and  
not able by thē selues to make an armye, they can not  
often do such gréuous hurtes, neuerthelesse they haue  
done oftentimes: as I haue saide of Fraunces, and of  
Sforza his father, and of Braccio of Perugia: so that this  
vse of keeping men of armes, I do not allowe, for it is a  
corrupt, maner, and it may make great incōueniences.  
Cosimo. Woulde you liue without them? or keeping  
them, howe would you keepe them? Fabritio By waye  
of ordinaunce, not like to those of the king of Fraunce:  
for as much as they be perillous, and insolent like vnto  
ours, but I would keepe them like vnto those of the aun-  
cient Romanes, whome created the chivalrye of their  
owne subiectes, and in peace time, they sent them home  
vnto their houses, to liue of their owne trades, as more  
largely befoze this reasoning ende, I shall dispute. So  
that if nowe this part of an armie, can liue in such ex-  
ercise, as well whē it is peace, it groweth of the corrupt  
order. Concerning the prouisiōs, which are reserued to  
me, & to other capitaines, I say vnto you, that this like-  
wise is an order most corrupted: for as much as a wise  
common weale, ought not to giue such stipends to any,  
but rather they ought to vse for Capitaines in y warre,  
their Citizens, and in time of peace to will, that they  
returne to their occupatiōs. Likewise also, a wise king  
either ought not to giue to such, or giuing any, the occa-  
siō ought to be either for rewarde of some worthy dēde,  
or else for the desire to keepe suche a kinde of man, as  
well in peace as in warre. And because you alledged  
me, I will make ensample vpon my selfe, & say that I  
neuer vsed the warr as an arte, for as much as my art,  
is to gouerne my subiectes, & to defende them, and to be  
able to defende them, to loue peace, & to knowe howe to  
make



make warre, and my king not so much to rewarde and esteeme me, for my knowledge in the warre, as for the knowledge that I haue to counsel him in peace. When a king ought not to desire to haue about him, any that is not of this condition if hee bee wise, and prudentlye minde to gouerne: for that, that if he shall haue aboute him either to much louers of peace, or to much louers of warre, they shall make him to erre. I can not in this my first reasoning, and according to my purpose saye more, and when this sufficeth you not, it is meete, you seeke of the that may satisfie you better. You may now very well vnderstande howe difficulte it is to bying in bye the auncient maners in the present warres, & what preparatiōs are meete for a wise man to make, & what occasions ought to be looked for, to be able to execute it. But by and by, you shall knowe these thinges better, if this reasoning make you not weery, conferring what so euer partes of the auncient orders hath bene, to the maners nowe present. Cosimo. It was desired at the firste to here your reason of these thinges, truelye the same which hether to you haue spoken, hath doubled oure desire: wherefoze we thanke you for that we haue hard, & the rest, we craue of you to here. Fab. Seing that it is so your pleasure, I will begin to intreate of this matter from the beginning, to the intent it may be better vnderstode, being able by the same meane, more largely to declare it. The ende of him that will make warre, is to be able to fight with euery enemy in the fielde, & to be able to ouercome an armie. To purpose to do this, it is conuenient to ordeyne an host. To ordeyne an host, there must be found men, armed, ordered, & as well in the small, as in the great orders exercised, to knowe howe to keepe araye, and to incampe, so that after bying them vnto the enemy, either standing or marching, they may knowe how to behaue them selues valiantly. In this thing consisteth all the industrie of the warre.

A king that hath aboute him any that are to muche louers of vvar, or to muche louers of peace, shall cause him to erre.

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warre on the lande, which is the most necessarye, and the most honourablest, for he that can wel order a fielde against the enemye, the other faultes y he should make in the affaires of warre, wil be bozne with: but he that lacketh this knowledg, although that in other particulars he be very good, he shall neuer bying a warre to honour: for asmuch as a fielde that thou winnest, doth cancell all other thy euill actes: so likewise lacking it, all thinges well done of thee before, remaine vaine. Therefore, being necessarye first to finde the men, it is requisite to come to the choise of them. They whiche vnto the warre haue giuen rule, will that the men be chosen out of temperate countries, to the intent they may haue hardinesse, and prudence, for as much as the hot countrye, breeds prudente men & not hardy, the colde, hardy and not prudente. This rule is good to be geuen, to one that were Prince of all the worlde, because it is lawfull for him to chouse men out of those places, which he shall thinke best. But minding to giue a rule, that euery one may vse, it is meete to declare, y euerye commō weale, and euery kingdome, oughte to chouse their souldiours out of their owne countrie, whether it be hotte, colde, or temperate: for that it is seene by olde ensamples, how that in euery countrie with exercise, there is made good souldiours: because where nature lacketh, the industry supplieth, the which in this case is wortb more, then nature, and taking them in other places, you shall not haue of the choise, for choise is asmuche to saye, as the best of a prouince, and to haue power to chuse those that will not, as well as those that will serue. Therefore, you must take your choise in those places, that are subiecte vnto you, for that you cannot take whome you like, in the countries that are not yours, but you muste take such as will go with you.

Cosimo. Yet there may be of those, that will come, taken and leste, and therefore, they may be called chosen.

Oute of  
what coun-  
trie is best  
to chuse sol-  
diours to  
make a good  
election.



sen. Fabritio, You saye the trueth in a certayne maner, but consider the faultes, which such a chosen man hath in himselfe, for that also manye times it happeneth, that he is not a chosen man. For those that are not thy subiectes, and which willingly do serue, are not of the best, but rather of the worst of a Prouince, for as muche as if any be sclanderous, idle, vnruely, without Religion fugetiue from the rule of their fathers, blasphemous, Disce players, in euerye condition euill brought vp, bee those, which will serue, whose customes cannot be moze contrarype, to a true & good seruice: Albeit, when there be offered vnto you, so many of suche men, as come to aboute the number, that you haue appointed, you maye chuse them: but the matter beyng naught, the choise is not possible to be good: also, many times it chaunceth, that they be not so many, as will make by the number, whereof you haue neede, so that being constrained to take them all, it commeth to passe, that they cannot the be called chosen men, but hired Souldiours. With this disorder the armies of Italie, are made nowe adaiies, and in other places, excepte in Almanne, because there they do not hire any by commaundement of the Prince, but according to the will of them, that are disposed to serue. Then consider nowe, what maners of those aunciente armies, may be brought into an army of me, put together by like waies. Cosimo. What way ought to be vsed then? Fabritio. The same waie that I saide, to chuse them of their owne subiectes, and with the auzhoritie of the Prince. Cosimo. In the chosen, shal there be likewise brought in any auncient fashions? Fabritio. You know well enough that ye: when he that should commaunde them, were their Prince, or ordinarie lord, whether he were made chiefe, or as a Citezen, & for the same time Capitaine, being a common weale, other wise it is harde to make any thing good.

Cosimo. Why? Fabritio. I will tell you a none: For  
this

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this time I will that this suffice you, that it can not be wrought well by other waye, Cosimo. Having then to make this choise of men in their owne countries, whether iudge you that it be better to take them out of the Citie, or out of the Countrie? Fabritio. Those that haue written of such matters, do all agrée, that it is best to chuse them out of the coutrie being men accustomed to no ease, nourished in labours, vsed to stande in the sunne, to sitte the shadowe, knowing howe to occupye the spade, to make a ditche, to carrye a burden, and to be without any deceit, & without maliciousnesse. But in this part of my opinion should be, y being two sortz of Souldiours, on foote, and on horsebacke, that those on foote, should be chosen out of the countrie, and those on horsebacke, out of the Cities, Cosi. Of what age woulde you chuse them? Fab. I would take them, when I had to make a newe armye, from xviij. to xl. yeares: when it were made already, and I had to restoze them, of xvij. alwayes. Cosimo. I do not understand well this distinction. Fabritio. I shall tell you: when I should ordeyne an hoste to make warre, where were no hoste already, it should be necessarie to chuse all those men, which were most fit and apt for the warre, so that they were of seruisable age, that I might be able to instruct them, as by mee shall be declared: but when I would make my choise of men in places, where a power were alreadye prepared for supplying of the same, I would take them of xvij. yeres: for asmuch as the other of moze age, be already chosen and appointed. Cosimo. Then would you prepare a power like to those which is in our countrie? Fabri. Yea truly, it is so that I would arme them, Captayne them, exercise and order them in a maner, which I cannot tell, if you haue ordered the so. Cosimo. Then do you prayse the keeping of order?

Fabritio. Wherefoze woulde you that I should dispraise it? Cosimo. Because manywise men haue alwayes

Whether it  
be betrer to  
take me out  
of tovvnes  
or out of the  
countrie to  
serue.

Of what  
age Souldiours  
ought  
to be cho-  
sen.



waies blamed it.

Fabritio. You speake against all reason, to saye that a wise man blameth order, he maye bee well thought wise, and be nothing so.

Cosimo. The naughty profe-which it hath allwayes, maketh vs to haue such opinion thereof.

Fabritio. Take heede it be not your fault, and not the keeping of order, the which you shall knowe, befoze this reasoning be ended.

Cosimo. You shall do a thing most thankfull, yet I will say concerning the same, that they accuse it, to the entent you maye the better iustifie it. They saye thus, either it is vnprofitable, and we trusting on the same, shall make vs to leese our state, or it shall be vertuous, and by the same meane, he that gouerneth may easily depriue vs therof. They alledge the Romaynes, who by meane of their owne powers, lost their libertie. They alledge the Venicians, and the Frenche king, which Venicians, because they will not be constrayned, to obeye one of their owne Citezens, vse the power of straungers: and the Frenche king hath disarmed his people, to bee able moze easely to commaunde them, but they whiche like not the ordinaunces, feare much moze the vnprofitablenesse, that they suppose may insue therby, then any thing els: the one cause whiche they alledge is, because they are vnerperfe: The other, soz that they haue to serue par foze: soz asmuch as they say, that the aged bee not so disciplinable, noz apt to learne the feate of armes, and that by foze, is done neuer any thing good.

Fabritio. All these reasons that you haue rehearsed, bee of men, whiche knoweth the thing full litle, as I shall playnly declare. And firste, concerning the vnprofitablenesse, I tell you, that there is no seruice vsed in anye countrey moze profitable, then the seruice by the Subiectes of the same, noz the same seruice cannot be prepared, but in this maner: and soz that this nec-  
deth

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By what  
meanes fol-  
diours bee  
made bolde  
and expert.

doeth not to be disputed of, I wil not læse much time: be-  
cause all the ensamples of auncient histories, make for  
my purpose, and for that they alledge the lacke of expe-  
rience and to vse constraint: I saye how it is true, that  
the lacke of experience, causeth lacke of courage, & con-  
straint, maketh euill contention: but courage, and ex-  
perieñce they are made to get, with the maner of arming  
them, exercising, and ordering them, as in proceeding of  
this reasoning, you shall heare. But concerning con-  
straint, you ought to vnderstande, that the men, which  
are conducted to warfare, by commaundement of their  
Princke, they ought to come, neither altogether forced,  
noz altogether willingly, for as much as to much wil-  
lingnesse, woulde make the inconueniencies, where I  
tolde afoze, that he should not be a chosen man, & those  
woulde be fewe that woulde go: and so to muche con-  
straint, will bring forth naughtye effectes. Therefore,  
a meane ought to be taken, where is not all constraint,  
noz all willingnesse: but being drawen of a respect,  
that they haue towarde their Princke, where they feare  
more the displeasure of the same, then the present paine  
and alwaies it shall happen to be a constrainte, in ma-  
ner mingled with willingnesse, that there cannot grow  
such euill contentation, that it make euill effectes. Yet  
I saye not for all this, that it cannot be overcome, for  
that full many times, were overcome the Romane ar-  
mies, and the armie of Anibal was overcome, so that  
it is seene, that an armie can not be ordayned so sure,  
that it cannot be ouerthrowen. Therefore, these your  
wise men, ought not to measure this vnprofitablenesse,  
for hauing losse once, but to belæue, that like as they  
læse, so they may winne, and remedie the occasion of  
the losse: and when they shall seeke this, they shall finde,  
that it hath not bene through fault of the waye, but of  
the order, which had not his perfection, and as I haue  
sayde, they ought to prouide, not with blaming the or-  
der



der, but with redressing it, the which howe it ought to be done, you shall vnderstande, from point to point. Concerning the doubt, lest such ordinauncers, take not from thee thy state, by meane of one, which is more head therof, I aunswere, that the armure on the backes of Citezens, or subiectes, giuen by the disposition of order and lawe, oyd neuer harme, but rather alwaies it doth good, and maintayneth the Citie, muche longer in suretye through helpe of this armure, then without. Rome continued free. CCCC yeres, and was armed. Sparta viij. C. Many other Cites haue bene disarmed, and haue remayned free, lesse then xl. For as much as cities haue neede of defence, and when they haue no defence of their owne, they hire straungers, and the straungers defence, shall hurte muche sooner the common weale, then their owne: because they be much easier to be corrupted, and a Citezen that becommeth mightie, may muche sooner vsurpe, & moze easely bring his purpose to passe, where the people be disarmed, that he seeketh to oppresse, besides this, a Citie ought to feare a great deale moze, two enemies then one. The same Citie that vseth straungers power, feareth at one instant the straunger, which it hireth, and the Citezen: and whether this feare ought to be, remember the same, whiche I rehearsed a litle agoe of Frances Sforza. That Citie, which vseth her own proper power, feareth no man, other then only her own Citezen. But for all the reasons that may be sayd, this shall serue mee, that neuer any ordeyned any common weale, or kingdome, y would not thinke, that they themselves, y inhabite the same, should with their swordes defende it.

A Citie that vseth the seruice of straungers feareth at one instant the straungers, vvhich it hireth & the Citezens of the same.

And if the Venicians had bene so wise in this, as in all their other orders. they should haue made a newe Monarchie in the worlde, whome so much the moze deserue blame, hauing bene armed of their first giuer of lawes: for hauing no dominion on the lande, they were

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armed on the sea, where they made their warre vertuouslye, and with weapons in their handes, increased their cuntrye. But when they were driuen, to make warre on the lande, to defende Vicenza, where they ought to haue sent one of their Citezens, to haue fought on the land, they hired for their Capitayn, the Marques of Mantua: this was the same foolish acte, whiche cut of their legges, from climbing into heauen, and from enlarging their dominion: and if they did it, because they belæued, that as they knew, how to make warre on the sea, so they mistrusted them selues, to make it on the lande, it was a mistruste not wise: for as much as moze easely, a Capitayn of the sea, which is bled to fight with the windes, with the water, & with men, shall become a Capitayne of the lande, where he shall fight with men onely, then a Capitayne of the lande, to become a Capitayne of the sea. The Romanes knowing howe to fight on the lande, and on the sea, comming to warre, with the Carthaginens, which were mightie on the sea, hired not Grekes, or Spaniardes, accustomed to the Sea, but they committed the same care, to their Citezens, which they set on lande, and they ouercame. If they did it, for that one of their Citezens should not become a tiraunt, it was a feare smally considered: for that besides the same reasons, which to this purpose, a litle afoze I haue rehearsed, if a Citezen with the powers on the sea, was neuer made a tiraunt in a Citie standing in the sea, so much the lesse he shoulde haue been able, to accomplishe this with the powers of the lande: whereby they ought to see that the weapons in the handes of their Citezens coulde not make tirauntes: but the naughtie orders of the gouernement, which maketh tirannie in a Citie, and they hauyng good gouernment, they neede not to feare their owne weapons: they tooke therfoze an vnwise way, the which hath been occasion to take from them much glozie, and much felicitie. Concerning the  
error



errour which the King of Fraunce committeth, not keeping instructed his people in the warre, the which those your wise men alledge for ensample, there is no man, (his particuler passions layde aside) that doth not iudge this fault to be in the same kingdome, and this negligence onely to make him weake. But I haue made to great a digression, and peradventure am come out of my purpose, albeit, I haue done it to aunswere you, and to shew you that in no countrey, there can be made sure foundation, for defence in other powers, but of their owne subiectes: and their owne power can not be prepared other wise, then by way of an ordinaunce, nor by other way to induce the fashion of an armie in any place, nor by other meane to ordaine an instruction of warfare. If you haue read the orders, which those first kinges made in Rome, and inesppecially Scruio Tullo, you shall finde that the orders of the Classi is no other, then an ordinance, to be able at a sodaine, to bring together an armie, for defence of y<sup>e</sup> Citie. But let vs returne to our choise, I saye againe, that hauing to renewe an olde order, I woulde take them of .xvij. hauing to make a newe army, I would take them of all ages, betwene xvij. and xl. to be able to warre straight waye.

Cosimo. Would you make any difference, of what science you would chuse them?

Fabritio. The authours, which haue written of the arte of warre, make difference, for that they will not, that there bee taken Foulers, Fishers, Cookes, Baudes, nor none that vse anye science of voluptuousnesse. But they will, that there bee taken Blowmen, Ferriers, Smithes, Carpenters, Butchers, Hunters, and suche like: but I woulde make litle difference, through coniecture of the conscience, concerning the goodnesse of the man, notwithstanding, in as muche as to be able with moze profite to vse them, I woulde make difference, and for this cause, the countrie men, which are  
used

Of what  
science sol-  
diers ought  
to be chosen

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used to till the grounde, are more profitable then any other. Next to who be Smithes, Carpenters, Ferrars, Masons, wherof it is profitable to haue enough: for that their occupacions, serue well in many thinges: being a thing very good to haue a souldiour, of whom maye bee had double seruice.

Cosimo. Wherby do they knowe those, that be, or are not sufficient to serue.

Fabritio. I will speake of the maner of chusing a new ordinaunce, to make an armie after, for that, part of this matter, doth come also to be reasoned of, in the election, which should be made for y replenishing, or restozing of an olde ordinaunce. I say therfore, that the godnesse of one, which thou must chuse for a Souldiour, is knowne either by experiece, thzough means of some of his woꝝthy doinges, or by coniecture. The pꝛofe of vertue, cannot be founde in men whiche are chosen of newe, and which neuer afoze haue bene chosen, and of these are founde either fewe or none, in the ordinaunce that of newe is ordeyned. It is necessarye therfore, lacking this experience, to runne to the coniecture, which is taken by the yeres, by the occupacion, and by the personage: of those two first, hath bene reasoned, there remaineth to speake of the thirde. And therfore, I saye howe some haue willed, that the souldiour bee great amongstest whome was Pirrus. Some other haue chosen them onelye, by the lustinesse of the bodye, as Caesar dyd: which lustinesse of body and minde, is coniectured by the composition of the members, and of the grace of the countenance: & therfore, these that wꝛite saye, that they would haue the eyes liuely and cherefull, the necke full of sinowes, the bꝛeast large, the armes full of muscullcs, the fingers long, litle bealy, the flankes rounde, the legges and lēte dꝛye: whiche partes are wont alwayes to make a man nimble and strong, whiche are two thinges, that in a souldiour are soughte aboue all other.

Howe to  
chuse a souldiour.



other. Regarde ought to be had aboute all thinges, to his customes, and that in him be honesty, and shame: otherwise, there shall bee chosen an instrument of mischief, and a beginning of corruption: for that let no man beleue that in the dishonell education, and filthy minde, there maye take anye vertue, whiche is in anye parte laudable. And I thinke it not superfluous, but rather I beleue it to bee necessarye, to the entent you maye the better vnderstande, the impoytaunce of this chosen, to tell you the maner, that the Romane Consuls, in the beginning of their rule, obserued in the chosing of their Romane legions: in the whiche choise of men, because the same legions were mingled with olde souldiours & newe, considering the continuall warre they kept, they might in their choise procede, with the experience of the old, and with the coniecture of the newe: and this ought to be noted, that these men be chosen, either to serue incontinently, or to exercise them incontinentlye, and after to serue when neede shoulde requyre. But my intention is to shewe you, howe an armie may be prepared in the countrie, where there is warlike discipline: in which countrie, chosen men cannot be had, to vse the straight waye, but there, where the custome is to leuie armies, and by meane of the Prince, they maye then well bee had, as the Romanes obserued, and as is obserued at this daye among the Swislers: because in these chosen, though there be many newe men, there be also so manye of the other olde Souldiours, accustomed to serue in the warlike orders, where the newe mingled together with the olde, make a bodye vnited and good, not withstanding, that the Emperours after, beginning the staciones of ordinarye Souldiours, had appointed ouer the newe Souldiours, which were called Tironi, a maister to exercise them, as appeareth in the life of Maslino the Emperour. The whiche thing, while Rome was free, not onely in the armies, but in the  
citis

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Titte was ordeyned : and the exercises of warre , being accustomed in the same. wher the young men did exercise, there grewe, y being chosen after to go into warre, they were so vled in the fained exercise of warfare, that they could easely worke in the true : but those Emperours hauing after put downe these exercises , they were constrained to vse the wayes, that I haue shewed you. Therefore, comming to the maner of the chosen Romane , I say that after the Romane Consulles ( to whome was appointed the charge of the warre ) had taken the rule, minding to ordeyne their armies, for that it was the custome, that either of the shoulde haue two Legions of Romane men , whiche was the strength of their armies , they created. xxiiij. Tribunes of warre, and they appointed sixe for euery Legion , whome dyd the same office, which those do now a daies, that we call Constables: they made after to come together, all the Romane men apte to beare weapons, and they put the Tribunes of eucry Legion, separate the one from the other. Afterwarde, by lot they dyde the Tribes , of which they had first to make the chosen, and of the same Tribe they chose foure of the best, of whiche was chosen one of the Tribunes, of the first Legion , and of the other thre was chosen, one of the Tribunes of the second legion, of the other two there was chosen one of the tribunes of y thirde, & the same last fel to the fourth Legion. After these iiij, they chose other foure, of which, first one was chosen of the tribunes of the seconde legion, the second of those of the thirde, the thirde of those of the fourth, the fourth remayned to y first. After, they chose other foure, the first chose the third, the second the fourth, the thirde the fifth , the fourth remayned to the seconde : and thus they varied successiuelye , this maner of choosing , so that the election came to be equall, and the Legions were gathered together: and as afoze we saide , this choise mighte be made to vse straighte waye



waie, for that they made them of men, of whom a good part were experienced in the very warfare in deede, & all in the faigned exercised, and they mighte make this choise by coniecture, and by experience. But where a power muste be ordeyned of newe, and for this to chuse them out of hande, this chosen cannot be made, saving by coniecture, which is taken by considering their ages and their likelinesse.

Cosimo. I beleue all to be true, as much as of you hath bene spoken: but before that you procede to other reasoning, I would aske of you one thing, whiche you haue made mee to remember: saying that the chosing, that isto be made where men were not used to warre, ought to be made by coniecture: for asmuche as I haue hearde some men, in manye places dispraise our ordinaunce, and in especially concerning the number, for that many say, that there ought to be taken lesse number, wherof is gotten this profite, y they shall be better and better chosen, and men shall not be so muche diseased, so that there may be giuen the some rewarde, wher by they may be moze contented, and better be commaunded, wherof I would vnderstande in this parte your opinion, and whether you loue better the great number, then the litle, & what way you would take to chuse them in the one, and in the other number.

Fabritio. Without doubtte it is better, and moze necessarye, the great number, then the litle: but to speake moze plainly, where there cannot be ordeyned a great number of men, there can not be ordeyned a perfect ordinaunce: and I will easly confute all the reasons of them propounded. I saye therefore first, that the lesse nōber where is many people, as is for ensample Tuscane, maketh not that you haue better, noz that the chosen be moze excellent, for that minding in chosing the men, to iudge them by experience, there shall be founde in the same countrey most fewe, whome expe-

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rience shoulde make prouable, both for that fewe haue bene in warre, as also for that of those, most fewe haue made triall, whereby they might deserue to bee chosen before the other: so that he which ought in like places to chuse, it is meete he leaue a parte the experience, and take them by coniecture. Then being brought like wise into such necessitie, I would vnderstande, if there come before me twentye young men of good stature, with what rule I ought to take, or to leaue any: where without doubt, I beleue that euery man will confesse, howe it is lesse error to take them all, to arme them and exercise them, being not able to knowe, whiche of them is best, and to reserue to make after moze certayn chosen, when in practising them with exercise, there shall bee knowne those of moste spirite, and of moste life: whiche considered, the chusing in this case a fewe, to haue them better, is altogether naught.

Concerning diseasing lesse the countrie, and men, I say that the ordinaunce, either euill or litle that it be, causeth not any disease, for that this order doth not take men from any of their businesse. it bindeth the not, that they can not go to do any of their affayres: for that it bindeth the only in the ydle dayes, to assemble together, to exercise them, the which thing doth no hurt, neither to the countrie, nor to the men, but rather to young men, it shall bring delight: for that where vilye on the holpe date, they stande idle in tippling houses, they will go for pleasure to those exercises, for that the handling of weapons, as it is a goodly spectacle, so vnto yong men it is pleasaunt. Concerning to be able to pay the lesse number, and for this to keepe them moze obedient, & moze contented, I answer, how there cannot be made an ordinaunce of so fewe, which may be in maner continuallye paid, where the same painet of theirs may satisfie the. As for ensample, if there were ordeyned a power of v, thousande men, for to paye them after such sorte, that



It might be thought sufficient, to contente them, it shall be conuenient to geue them at least, tenne thousande crownes the moneth: first, this number of men are not able to make an armie, this paye is intollerable to a State, and of the other side, it is not sufficiente to keepe men contented, and bound to be able to serue at all times: so that in doing this, there shall bee spent muche, and a small power kept, which shall not be sufficient to defende thee, or to do any enterprise of thine. If thou shouldest giue them moze, or shouldest take moze, so much moze impossibilitie it shoulde bee, for thee to paye them: if thou shouldest giue the lesse, or should take lesse, so much y lesse contentatiō should be in thee, or so much y lesse profite they shall bring thee. Therfoze, those that reason of making an ordinaunce, and whilest they tarry at home to paye them, the reason of a thing either impossible, or vnprofitable, but it is necessare to paye them when they are taken vp to be lead to the warre: albett, though such order should somewhat disease those, in time of peace, that are appointed in the same, whiche I see not howe, there is for recompence all those benefites, which a power bringes, that is ordeyned in a countrie: for that without the same, there is nothing sure. I conclude, that he that will haue the litle number, to be able to paye them, or for anye of the other causes alledged of you, doeth not vnderstande, for that also it maketh for my opinion, that euery number shall diminishe in thy bandes, though infinite impedimentes whiche men haue: so that the litle number shall tourne to nothing: againe hauing the ordinaunce great, thou maiest at thy pleasure vse fewe of many, besides this, it muste serue thee in daede, and in reputation, and alwaies. the great number shall giue thee most reputation. Dozeouer, making the ordinaunce to keepe men exercised, if thou appointe a fewe number of men in manye countries, the bandes of men bee so farre a sonder, the one from

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the other, that thou canst not without their most greuous losse, gather them together to exercise them, and without this exercise, the ordinance is vnprofitable, as hereafter shalbe declared.

Cosimo. It sufficeth vpon this my demaunde, that whiche you haue saide, but I desire now, that you declare mee an other doubt. They say, that suche a multitude of armed men, will make confusion, discensio, and disorder in the countrey where they are.

Fabritio. This is an other vaine opinion, the cause wherof, I shall tell you: such as are ordeyned to serue in the warres, maye cause disorder in two maners. either betwæne them selues, or against other, which thinges most easlye maye be withstode, where the order of it selfe, shoulde not withstande it: for that concerning the discozde among them selues, this order taketh it away, & doth not nourish it, for that in ordering them, you giue them armour and Captaynes. If the countrie where you ordeyne the, be so vnapt for the warre, that there are not armours among the men of the same, and that they be so vnited, that they haue no heads, this order maketh the much fearser against the straüger, but it maketh the not any thing the moze disvnited, for that men well ordered, feare the law being armed, as well as vnarmed, noz they can neuer alter, if the Capitayns, which you giue them, cause not the alteration, and the waye to make this, shall be tolde now: but if the countrie where you ordeyn them, be warlike and disvnited, this order onely shalbe occasion to vnite them, because this order giueth them armours profitable for y warre, and heades, extinguishers of discention: where their owne armours be vnprofitable for the warres, & their heades nourishers of discozde. For that so soone as any in the same countrie is offended, he resozteth by and by to his Capitayn to make complaynte, who for to maintayn his reputation, comfozteth him to reuengement,



not to peace. To the contrarve doth the publike heade, so that by this meanes, the occasion of discorde is taken awaye, and the occasion of vniion is prepared, & the prouinces vnited and effeminated, get vtilitie, and maintayne vniion: the disvnited and discencions, do agrée, & the same their fearlnesse, which is wont disozdinatel ye to worke, is tourned into publike vtilitie. To minde to haue them, to do no hurte against other, it ought to be considered, that they cannot do this, except by meane of the heades, which gouerne thē. To will that the heades make no disozder, it is necessary to haue care, that they get not ouer them to much auzhoritie. And you must consider that this auzhoritie, is gotten either by nature, or by accident: & as to nature, it behoueth to prouide, that he whiche is bozne in one place, be not appointed to the men billed in the same, but be made heade of those places, where he hath not any naturall aquaintaunce: and as to the accident, the thing ought to be ozdeyned in such maner, that euery yere the heades maye be chaunged from gouernement to gouernement: soz as muche as the continuall auzhoritie ouer one sozte of men, breedeth among them so much vniion, that it may tourne easlye to the pzeiudice of the Prince: whiche permutacions howe profitable they bee to those who haue vled them, and hurtful to them that haue not obserued them, it is well knowen by the kingdome of the Assirians, and by the Empire of the Romaynes, where is sēne, that the same Kingdome indured a thousand yeres without tumulte, and without any Ciuill warre: whiche proceeded not of other, then of the permutacions, whiche from place to place euery yere the same Capitaynes made, vnto whome were appointed the charge of the Armies. Soz soz anye other occasion in the Romane Empire; after the blod of Cæsar was extinguished, there grewe so manye ciuill warres, betwēne the Capitaynes of the hostes, and so many conspiracies of the

Howe to prouide against suche inconueniences as souldiers maie cause.

The occasiō of ciuill vvarr among the Romanes.

soz sayde

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foresaid capitaynes against the Emperours, but onelye  
foz keeping continually still those capitaynes alwayes  
in one gouernement. And if in some of those first Em-  
perours, and of those after, whome helde the Empire  
with reputation, as Adriane, Marcus, Seuerus, and such  
like, there had bene so much foresight, that they had  
brought this custome of chaunging the Capitaynes in  
the same Empire, without doubt it shoulde haue made  
them moze quiete, and moze durable: For that the  
Capitaines shoulde haue had lesse occasion to make  
tumultes, the Emperour lesse cause to feare, and the  
Senate in the lackes of the successions, shoulde haue had  
in the election of the Emperour, moze authoritie, and  
by consequence shoulde haue ben better: but the naugh-  
tye custome, either foz ignoraunce, oz through the litle  
diligence of men, neither foz y<sup>e</sup> wicked, noz good ensam-  
ples, can be taken away.

Cosimo, I cannot tell, if with my questioning, I haue  
as it were lead you out of order, because from the chu-  
sing of men, we be entered into an other matter, and if  
I had not bene a litle befoze excused, I shoulde thinke to  
deserue some reprehension.

Fabritio, Let not this disquiete you, foz that all this  
reasoning was necessarye, minding to reason of the or-  
dinaunce, the which being blamed of manye, it was re-  
quisite to excuse it, willing to haue this first parte of chu-  
sing men to be allowed. But now befoze I disceide to  
the other partes, I will reason of the choise of men on  
horsebacke. Of the antiquitie, these were made of the  
most richesse, hauing regarde both to the yeres, and to  
the qualitie of the man: and they chose CCC. foz a Le-  
gion, so that the Romane horse, in euery Consulles ar-  
mie, passed not the number of vi. C. Cosimo, Woulde  
you make an ordinaunce of horse, to exercise them at  
home, and to vse their seruice when néede requires?

Fabritio, It is most necessary, and it cannot be done  
other wise

The nomb.  
of horsemen  
that the Ro-  
manes chose  
for a Legion  
and for a  
Consulles  
armie.



ather wise, minding to haue y power, that it be the owne proper, and not to purpose to take of those, which make thereof an arte.

Cosimo. Howe would you chuse them ?

The choo-  
sing and or-  
dering of  
horsemen,  
that is to be  
observed at  
this present.

Fabritio. I would imitate the Romanes, I would take of the richest, I would giue them heades or chiefe Capitaynes, in the same maner, as nowe a dayes to o-  
ther is giuen, and I would arme them & exercise them.

Cosimo. To these should it be well to giue some pro-  
uision?

Fabritio. *Dea marie*, but so much onely as is necessa-  
rye to keepe the hozse, for as muche as bzinging to thy  
subiectes expences, they might iustly complayne of thee,  
theresoze it should be necessarye, to paye them their  
charges of their hozse.

Cosimo. What number woulde you make: and how  
woulde you arme them ?

Fabritio. You passe into an other matter. I will  
tell you in conuenient place, whiche shall be  
when I haue tolde you, howe soote men  
oughte to be armed, and howe  
a power of men is pre-  
pared, for a day  
of battaile.

(.)



# The second booke of the arte of warre,

of Nicholas Machiavel, Citezen and Secretaris

of Florence, vnto Laurence

Philip Strozze.

(2.)



Beleeue that it is necessarye, men being founde, to arme them, and minding to doo this, I suppose that it is a needefull thing to examine, what armour the antiquitie vsed, and of the same to chose the best. The Romanes deuised their soote men in heauie and lighte armed :

Those that were light armed, they called by the name of Veliti: Under this name were vnderstode all those that thzewe with Slinges, shot with Crossebowes, cast Dartes, and they vsed the most parte of them for their defence, to weare on their heade a Murion, with a Targaet on their arme: they fought out of the orders, and farre of from the heauie armed, which did weare a head peece, that came downe to their shoulders, a Cozselet, which with the tases came downe to the knees, and they had the legges and armes, couered with greaues, and bambzaces, with a targaet on the left arme, a yarde and a halfe long, & thre quarters of a yarde brode, whiche had a hope of Iron vpon it, to be able to sustaine a blowe, and an other vnder, to the intente, that it being dziuen to the earth, it should not bzeake: for to offende, they had girte on their left flanke a sworde, the length of a yarde and a naile, on their righte side, a Dagger: they had a darte in euery one of their handes, the which they called Pilo, and in the beginning of the fight, they thzewe those at the enemy. This was the ordering,

Howe the  
Romaines  
armed their  
souldiers &  
vwhat vvea-  
pons they v-  
sed

and



and importance of the armours of the Romanes, by the which they possessed all  $\text{t}$  world. And although some of the se auncient wryters gaue them, besides the fore sayde weapons, a staffe in their hande like vnto a Partasen, I cannot tell holwe a heauy staffe, may of him that holdeth a Targaet bee occupied: for that to handle it with both hands, the Targaet should bee an impediment, and to occupye the same with one hande, there can be done no good therewith, by reason of the weighfynesse therof: besides this, to faight in the strong, & in the orders with such long kinde of weapon, it is vnprofitable, except in the first front, where they haue space enough, to thrust out all the staffe, which in the orders within, cannot be done, for that the nature of the battaile (as in the order of the same, I shall tell you) is continually to thzong together, which although it be an inconuenience, yet in so doing they feare lesse, then to stande wide, where the perill is most euident, so that all the weapons, which passe in length a yarde & a halfe, in the thzong, be vnprofitable: for that, if a man haue the Partasen, and will occupye it with both handes, put case that the Targaet let him not, he can not hurte with the same an enemye, whom is vpon him, if he take it with one hande, to the intent to occupie also the Targaet, being not able to take it, but in the midstest, there remayneth so much of the staffe behinde,  $\text{y}$  those which are behinde him, shall let him to welde it. And whether it were true, either that the Romanes had not this Partasen, or that hauing it, did litle good withall. reade all the battailes, in the hystorye therof, celebrated of Titus Liuius, and you shall see in the same, most seldome times made mencio<sup>n</sup> of Partasens, but rather alwaies he saioeth, that the Dardes being thzowen, they layed their hands on their swerdes. Therefore I will leaue this staffe, and obserue, concerning the Romanes, the sworde for to hurte, and for defence the Targaet, with the other armours afozesaide.

## The second Booke of

Howe the  
Grekes did  
arme them-  
selues, and  
vwhat vvea-  
pois they v-  
fed againste  
their ene-  
mies.

The Greekes dyd not arme them selues so heauily, for their defence, as the Romanes dyd: but for to offend the enemies, they grounded more on their staves, then on their swordes, and in especiallye the Fallangye of Macedonia, which vsed staves, that they called Sarisse, seuen yardes and a halfe long, with the which they opened the rankes of their enemies, and they kept the orders in their Fallangy And although some wryters saie, that they had also the Targaet, I can not tell (by the reasons afozesayde) howe the Sarisse and they coulde stande together. Besides this, in the battaile that Paulus Emilius made, with Perfa king of Macedonia, I do not remember, that there is made any mention of Targaettes, but only of the Sarisse, and of the difficultie that the Romane armie had, to ouercome them: so that I coniecture, that a Macedonicall Fallange, was no other wise, then is now a dayes a battaile of Suizzers, the whiche in their Pikes haue all their force, & all their power.

A braue & a  
terrible thig  
to the ene-  
mies.

The Romanes did garnish (besides the armours) the footemen with feathers: the whiche thinges makes the sight of an armie to the friends goodly, to the enemies terrible The armour of the hoysemen, in the same first Romane antiquitie, was a rounde Targaet, and they had their head armed, and the rest vnarmed: They had a sword and a staffe, with an Iron head onely befoze, long and small: whereby it happened, that they were not able to stape the Targaet, and the staffe in the incountring broke, and they thzough being vnarmed, were subiecte to hurtes: after, in processe of time, they armed them as the footemen, albeit they vsed the Targaette muche shorter, square, and the staffe more stiffe, and with two heades, to the entente, that breaking one of the heades, they mighte preuaile with the other. With these armours as well on foote, as on horsebacke, the Romanes conquered all the worlde, and it is to be beloued, by the fruit thereof, whiche is  
scene

Howe the  
Romanes  
armed their  
hoysemen in  
olde time.



saene, that they were the beste appointed armies, that euer were: and Titus Linius in his histozy, doeth testify vberye often, where comming to comparison with the enemies armies, he saieyth: But the Romanes, by vertue, by the kinde of their armours, and practise in the seruice of warre, were superiours: and therfoze I haue moze particularly reasoned of the armours of conquerours, then of the conquered. But now we maie thinke god, to reason onelye of the manner of arming men at this ptesente. Foote men haue foze their defence, a bzeast plate, and foze to offende, a launce, sixe yardes and thre quarters long, which is called a pike, with a sworde on their side, rather rounde at the point, then sharpe. This is the ordinarie arming of foote men nowe a dayes, foze that selue there be, which haue their legges armed, and their armes, the heade none, and those selue, beare in steede of a Pike, a Halberde, the staffe whereof as you know, is two yardes and a quarter long, and it hath the Iron made like an axe. Betwene them, they haue Warrebuffers, the which with the violence of the fire, do the same office, which in olde time the singers did, and the Crosseboweshoters. This maner of arming, was found out by the Dutchemen, inspeciallye of Suizzers, whō being poze, and desirous to liue free, they were, and be constrained to fight, with the ambition of the Princes of Almaine, who being riche, were able to keepe horse, the which the same people could not do foze pouertye. Wherby it grewe, that being on foote, minding to defende them selues from the enemies, that were on horsebacke, it behoueth them to seeke of the aunciente orders, and to finde weapons, whiche from the furie of horses, should defende them: This necessitie hath made either to be maintayned, or to be founde of them the aunciente orders, without whiche, as euerye prudente man affirmeth, the foote men is altogether vnprofitable. Therfoze, they tooke foze their weapon the

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The maner  
of arming  
men nowe  
a daies.

The inuen-  
tion of Pikes.

The second Booke of

Pike, a moste profitable weapon, not only to withstande hozles, but to ouercome them: and the Dutchemen haue by vertue of these weapons, and of these orders, taken such boldnesse, that xv. or xv. thousande of them, will assault the greatestt number of hozse that maye be: and of this, there hath bene experience enough within this xxv. yeres. And the insamples of their vertue hath bene so mightie, grounded vpon these weapons, and these orders, that sence King Charles passed into Italie, euery nation hath imitated them: so that the Spanish armies, are become into mostt great reputation.

Cosimo. Whiche maner of arming, do you praise mostt, either these Dutchemens, or the auncient Romanes?

Whether the Romanes maner in arming of men, be better then the arming of men, that is vsed nowe a daies.

Fabritio. The Romane without doubtte, and I will tell you the commoditie, and the discommoditie of the one, and the other. The Dutche footemen, are able to withstande, and ouercome the hozles: they bee mostt spædie to marche, and to be set in aray, being not laden with armours: of the other part, they be subiecte to all blowes, both farre of, and at hande: because they be vnarmed, they bee vnprofitable vnto the battaile on the lande, and to euery fight, where is strong resistance. But the Romanes withstode, and ouercame the hozles, as well as the Dutchemen, they were safe from blowes at hande, and farre of, being couered with armours: they were also better able to charge, and better able to sustaine charges, hauing Targaettes: they might moze aptly in the p̄ceare fight with the sworde, then these with the Pike, and though the Dutchemen haue likewise swordes, yet being without Targaets, they become in suche case vnprofitable: The Romanes might safely assault tolowes, hauing their bodies cleane couered with armour, and being better able to couer themselues with their Targaettes. So that they had no other incommoditie, then the waightynesse



of their armour, and the pain to carry them, the which things they ouercome, with accustoming the bodye to diseases, and with hardening it, to be able to indure labour. And you knowe, how that in thinges accustomed, men suffer no grieffe. And you haue to vnderstand this, that the footemen may be cōstrayned, to fight with footemen, and with horse, and alwaies those be vnprofitable, whiche cannot either sustain the horses, or being able to sustayne them, haue notwithstanding nēde to feare the footemen, which be better armed, and better ordeyned then they. Nowe if you consider the Dutchemen, and the Romanes, you shall finde in the Dutchemen actiuitie (as wē haue said) to ouercome the horses, but great disaduantage, when they fight with men, ordeyned as they themselues are, and armed as the Romanes were, so that there shall be this aduātage moze of the one, then of the other, that y<sup>e</sup> Romanes could ouercome the men, and the horses, the Dutchemen onely the horses.

Cosimo. I woulde desire, that you woulde come to some moze particular ensample, whereby wē maye better vnderstande.

Fabritio. I saye thus, that you shall finde in manye places of our histories, the Romane footemen to haue ouercome innumerable horses, and you shall neuer finde, that they haue bene ouercome of men on foote, for defaulte that they haue had in their armour, or thowrowe the vantage that the enemye hath had in the armour: For that if the maner of their arming, shoulde haue had defaulte, it had bene necessarye, that there should followe, the one of these two thinges, either that findinge suche, as shoulde arme them better then they, they shoulde not haue gone still forwardes, with their conquestes, or that they shoulde haue taken the straungers maners, and shoulde haue leste their owne, and for that it followed not in the one thing, nor in the other there groweth that there maye be easlye coniectured, that

## The second Booke of

An ensamble  
vvhiche  
prooueth  
that horse-  
men vwith  
staues, can-  
not preuaile  
against foo-  
temen vwith  
Pikes, and  
vvhath great  
aduantage  
the armed  
haue, a-  
gainst the  
vnarmed.

The victo-  
rie of Car-  
minuola a-  
gainst the  
Dutchsmē.

that the maner of their arming, was better then y<sup>e</sup> same of any other. It is not yet thus happened to Dutchesmen, so; that naughtie p<sup>r</sup>oufe, hath béene séene made by them, when soeuer they haue chaunced to fight with men on foote p<sup>r</sup>epared, & as obstinate as they, the which is growen of the vauntage, which the same haue incou<sup>n</sup>tered in the enemies armours. Philip Vicecounte of Milaine, being assaulted of. xvij. thousande Suizzers, sente against them the Counte Carminuola, which then was his Capitayne. H<sup>e</sup> with sixe thousande horse, and a few footemen, went to mee<sup>t</sup>e with them, and incountering them, he was repulsed with his most great losse: where by Carminuola as a p<sup>r</sup>udent man, knewe straight waie the puissaunce of the enemies weapons, and how much against the hozses they p<sup>r</sup>euailed, and the debilitie of the hozses, against those on foote so appointed: and gathering his men together againe, he wente to finde the Suizzers, and so soone as he was n<sup>e</sup>are them, h<sup>e</sup> made his men of armes, to alight from their hozse, and in the same maner fighting with them, he slue them all, except th<sup>r</sup>e thousande: the whiche séeing them selues to consume, without hauing remedie, casting their weapons to the grounde, y<sup>e</sup>elded.

Cosimo. Wherof commeth so much disadvantage?

Fabritio. I haue a litle afoze tolde you, but séeing that you haue not vnderstode it, I will rehearse it againe. The Dutchemen (as a litle befoze I sayde vnto you) as it were vnarmed, so defende them selues, haue to offende, the Pike and the sworde: they come with these weapons, and with their orders to finde the enemies, whome if they b<sup>e</sup> well armed, to defende them selues, as were the men of armes of Carminuola, whiche made them alighte on foote, they come with the sworde, and in their orders to finde them, and haue no other difficultie, then to come n<sup>e</sup>are to the Suizzers, so that they maye retche them with the sworde, so; that



to soone as they haue gotten vnto them, they fight safely: for as muche as the Dutche man, can not strike the enemy with the Pike, who is vpon him, for the length of the staffe, wherefoze it is conueniente for him, to put the hande to the sword, the whiche to him is vnprofitable, he being vnarmed, and hauing against him an enemy, that is all armed. Wherby he that considereth the vantage, and the disadvantage of the one, and of the other, shall see, howe the vnarmed, shall haue no maner of remedie, and the ouercomming of the first fight, and to passe the first pointes of the Pikes, is not muche difficulte, he that fighteth being well armed: for that the battailes go (as you shall better vnderstande, when I haue shewed you, howe they are set together) and in counterling the one the other, of necessitie they thrust together, after suche sort, that they take the one thother by the bosome and though by the Pikes some be slaine or ouerthrowen, those that remayne on their feete, be so many, that they suffice to obtayne the victorie. Hereof it grew, that Carminuola ouercame them, with so great slaughter of the Suizzers, and with litle losse of his. Cosimo. Consider that those of Carminuola, were men of armes, who although they were on foote, they were couered all with Steele, and therefore they were able to make the prowe they did: so that me thinkes, that a power ought to be armed as they, minding to make the verie same prowe.

Fabritio. If you should remember, howe I tolde you the Romanes were armed, you woulde not thinke so: for as muche as a man, that hath the head couered with Iron, the brest defended of a Cozselet, and of a Targaet, the armes and the legges armed, is muche more apte to defende him selfe the first Pike, & to enter among them, then a man of armes on foote. I will giue you a litle of a late ensample. There were come out of Cicelie, into the Kingdome of Naples, a power

The battails  
when they  
are a fighting,  
doo throng together.

## The second Booke of

of Spaniardes, soz to go finde Consaluo, who was besse-  
ged in Barlet, of the Frenchmen: there made against the  
Mounſieur de Vhigni, with his men of armes, & with  
about foure thousand Dutchemē on foote: The Dutche  
men incountered with their Pikes lowe, and they ope-  
ned the power of Spaniardes; but those being holpe, by  
meane of their bucklers and of the agiletie of their bo-  
dies, mingled together with the Dutchmen, so that they  
might retche them with the sword, wherby happened  
the death, almost of all them, and the victozye to the Spa-  
niardes. Cuery man knoweth, howe many Dutchemen  
were slaine in the battaile of Rauenna, the which happe-  
ned by the very same occasion: soz y the Spanith soul-  
diours, got them within a sword's length of the Dutche  
souldiours, and they had destroyed them all, if of the  
Frenche hoꝛsemen, the Dutchemen on foote, had not been  
succoured: not withstanding, the Spaniardes close toge-  
ther, bzought themselves into a safe place. I conclude  
therefoze, that a good power ought not onely to be able,  
to withstande the hoꝛses, but also not to haue feare of  
men on foote, the which (as I haue many times sayde)  
proceedeth of the armour, and of the order.

How to ar-  
me men, and  
vwhat vvea-  
pons to ap-  
point them,  
after the  
Romaine  
maner, and  
Dutche fa-  
shion.

Cosimo. Tell therfoze, howe you woulde arme the?  
Fabritio. I woulde take of the Romane armour, and  
and of the Dutchemens weapons, and I woulde that  
the one halfe, shoulde be appointed like the Romanes  
and the other halfe like the Dutchemen: soz that if  
in sixe thousande foote men (as I shall tell you a litle  
hereafter) I shoulde haue three thousande men with  
Targaettes, after the Romane maner, and two thou-  
sande Pikes, and a thousande Harkebutters, after the  
Dutche fashion, they shoulde suffice: soz that I woulde  
place the Pikes, either in the front of the battaile, or  
where I shoulde feare most the hoꝛses, and those with  
the Targaettes and swordes, shall serue me to make  
a backe to the Pikes, and to winne the battaile, as I  
shall



Shall shewe you: so that I beleue, that a power thus ordayned, should ouercome at this daye, any other power.

Cosimo. This which hath bene saide, sufficeth concerning footemen, but concerning horsemen, we desire to vnderstand, which you thinke more stronger armed, either ours, or the antiquitie.

Fabritio. I beleue that in these daies, hauing respect to the Saddelles bolstered, and to the stropes not vsed of the antiquitie, they stande more stronglye on horsebacke, then in the olde time: I thinke also they arme themselves more sure: so that at this daye, a bande of men of armes, passing very muche, commeth to be with more difficultie withstood, then were the horsemen of old time: notwithstanding for all this, I iudge, that there ought not to be made more account of horses, then in olde time was made, for that (as afoze is sayde) manye times in our dayes, they haue with the footemen receyued shame and shall receyue alwayes, where they incounter, with a power of footemen armed, and ordered, as aboue hath bene declared. Tigrane king of Armenia, had againste the armie of the Romanes, wherof was Capitayne Lucullo, 61. thousande horsemen, amongst the whiche, were many armed, like vnto our men of armes, which they called Catafratti, & of the other parte, the Romanes were about sixe thousande, with xxv. thousand footemen: so that Tigrane seeing the armie of the enemies, saide: these be horses enough for an imbassage: notwithstanding, incountering together, he was ouerthrowen: and he that writeth of the same fighte, disprayseth those Catafratti, declaring them to be vnprofitable: for that hee sayeth, because they had their faces couered, they had muche a doo to see, and to offende the enemye, and they falling, being laden with armour, coulde not rise vp again, nor wolde themselves in any maner to preuaile. I say therefore, that those people or kingdomes, whiche shall esteeme more the power of horses, then the po-

The victorie  
of Lucullo,  
against Ti-  
grane king  
of Armenia.

## The second Booke of

wer of footemen be alwaies weake, and subiecte to all ruine, as by Italic hath beene seene in our time, the which hath bene taken, ruinated, and ouer run with strangers, thzough not other fault, then for hauing taken litle care, of the seruice on foote, and being brought the soldours therof, all on horsebacke. Yet there ought to bee had horses, but for seconde, and not for firste foundation of an armie: for that to make a discouery, to ouer run, and to destroy the enemies countrie, and to keepe troubled and disquieted, the armie of the same, and in their armours alwayes, to let them of their victuals, they are necessary, and most profitable: but concerning for the daye of battaile, and for the fighte in the fielde, which is the impoztaunce of the warre, and the ende, for which the armies are ordeined, they are moze maeter to follow the enemye being discomfited then to do any other thing which in the same is to be done, and they bee in comparison, to the footemen much inferiour.

Cosimo. There is happened vnto mee two doubtles, the one, where I knowe, that the Parthians dyd not vse in the warre, other then horses, and yet they deuided the worlde with the Romanes: the other is, that I woulde that you should shewe, howe the horsemen can be withstoode of footemen, and wherof groweth the strength of these, and the debilitie of those?

Fabritio. Either I haue tolde you, or I minded to tell you, howe that my reasoning of the affaires of warre, ought not to passe the boundes of Europe: when thus it is, I am not bounde vnto you, to make accompte of the same, which is vsed in Asia, yet I muste saye vnto you thus, that the warring of the Parthians, was altogether contrar ye, to the same of the Romanes: for as muche as the Parthians, warred all on horsebacke, and in the fight, they proceeded confusedlye, and scattered, and it was a maner of fighte vnsfable, and full of vncertaintie. The Romanes were (it maye be sayde) almost

For what  
purpose  
horsemen be  
most requi-  
site



almost al on foote, and they fought close together & sure, and they ouercame diuersly, the one the other according to the largenesse, or straightnesse of y<sup>e</sup> situation: for that in this the Romaines were superiours in the same: the Parthians, who might make great p<sup>r</sup>ofe with the same maner of warring, considering the region, which they had to defende, the which was most large: for as much as it hath the sea coaste distant a thousande miles, the riuers thone from thother, two or thre daies iourney, the townes in like maner and the inhabitauntes few: so that a Romaine armie heauie and slowe, by meanes of their armoures, and their orders, could not ouer run it, without their greenous hurt (those that defended it, being on horsebacke most expedite) so that they were to day in one place, & to morowe distant fiftie miles. Here of it grewe, that the Parthians might p<sup>r</sup>euaille with their chivalrie onelye, both to the ruine of the armie of Crassus, & to the perill of the same, of Marcus Antonius: but I (as I haue told you) do not intend in this my reasonyng, to speake of the warfare out of Europe, there fore I will stande vpon the same, whiche in times past the Romaines ordained, and the Grækes, and as the Duchemen do now aduaies. But let vs see to the other question of yours, where you desire to vnderstande, what order, or what naturall vertue makes, that the footemen ouercome the horsmen. And I say vnto you first that the horses cannot go, as the footemen in euery place: They are slower then the footemen to obey, when it is requisite to alter the order: for as much as if it be needefull, either goyng forwarde, to turne backwarde, or tournyng backwarde, to go forwarde, or to moue themselves standing still, or goyng to stand still without doubt, the horsmen cannot do it so redylie as the footemen: the horsmen cannot, being of some violence, disordered, returne in their orders, but with difficultie, although the same violence cease the which

The reason  
vwhy footemen  
are able  
to ouercome  
horsmen.

## The second Booke of

the footemen do most easly and quickly. Besides this, it happeneth many times, that a hardye man shall bee vpon a vile horse, and a coward vpon a good, whereby it followeth, that this euil matching of stomackes, makes disorder. For no man doeth maruaile, that a bande of footemen, susteyneth all violence of horses: for that a horse is a beaſt, that hath sence, and knoweth the perils, and with an ill will, will enter in them: and if you consider, what force maketh them go forward, & what holdeth them backward, you shall see without doubt, the same be greater, whiche keepeth them backe, then that which maketh them go forwardes: For that the spurre maketh them go forward, and of the other side, either the sword, or the Pike, keepeth them backe: so that it hath bene seene by the olde, and by the late experience, a bande of footemen to bee most safe, yea, invincible for horses. And if you shoulde argue to this, that the heate, with whiche they come, maketh them more furious to incounter, who that woulde withstande them, and lesse to regarde the Pike, then the spurre: I say, that if the horse so disposed, begin to see, that he must runne vpon the pointe of the Pike, either of him selfe, hee will refraine the course so that so soone as he shall feele him selfe picked, he will stande still at ones, or being come to them, he will tourne on the right, or on the left hande. Wherof if you will make experience, proue to runne a horse against a wall: you shall finde fewe, with what so euer furie he come withall, will strike against it. Caesar hauing in Fraunce, to fight with the Suizzers, alighted, and made every man alight on foote, and to auoide from the arayes, the horses, as a thing more meete to flie, then to fight. But notwithstanding these naturall impedimentes, which horses haue, the same Capitayne, whiche leadeth the footemen, oughte to chuse wayes, which haue for horse the moste impedimentes that maye bee, and seldome times it happeneth, but that

How footemen maye saue themselves from horsemen.



that a man maye saue himselſe , by the qualitie of the cuntry: ſoꝛ that if thou marche on the hilles, the ſituation doth ſaue thee from the ſame ſurſe , whereof you doubt, that they go withall in the playne, ſeuē playnes bee, which though the tillage, oꝛ by meanes of the woodes, do not aſſure thee : ſoꝛ that euerye hillocke , euerye bancke, although it be but ſmall, taketh away the ſame beate, and euery culture where bee Vines , and other trees, letteth the hozſes: and if thou come to battaile, the very ſame letteth happeneth, that chaũceth in marching: ſoꝛ as much as euery litle impedimente , that the hozſe hath, abateth his ſurſe. One thing notwithstanding, I will not ſoꝛget to tell you , howe the Romanes eſteemed ſo much their ozders , and truſted ſo much to their weapons , that if they ſhoulde haue had, to chuſe either ſo rough a place to ſaue themſelues from hozſes, where they ſhoulde not haue been able, to raunge their ozders, oꝛ a place where they ſhoulde haue neede, to feare moze of hozſes, but beene able to deſtende their battaile, alwayes they tooke this, and leſte that : but becauſe it is time, to paſſe to the armye, hauing armed theſe Souldiours , according to the auncient and newe uſe , let vs ſee what exerciſes the Romanes cauſed them make, befoze the men were brought to þ battaile. Although they be well choſen, and better armed, they ought with moſt great ſtudie be exerciſed, ſoꝛ that without this exerciſe, there was neuer any Souldiour good: theſe exerciſes ought to bee deuided into threẽ partes, the one, ſoꝛ to harden the bodye, and to make it apte to take paynes , and to bee moze ſwiſter & moze readier , the other, to teache them, howe to handle their weapons , the thirde, ſoꝛ to learne them to keepe the ozders in the armye, as well in marching, as in fighting , and in the incamping: The whiche be threẽ principall actes , that an armye doeth: ſoꝛ as much , as if an armye marche, incampe, and fighte with order, and expertlye, the Capitayne leſeth not his honour.

The exerciſe of ſouldiers ought to be deuided into 3. partes.

## The second Booke of

What exercises the auncient common weales vsed to exercise their youth in, & what commodities in-sued thereby.

Howe the antiquitie, lerned their young souldiours, to handle their weapons.

honour, although the battaile should haue no god ende. Therefore, all the auncient common weales, prouided these exercises in maner, by custome, and by lawe, that there should not be lefte behinde any part therof. They exercised then their youth, for to make them swifte, in running, to make them readye, in leaping, for to make them strong, in throwing the barre, or in wrestling: and these three qualities, be as it were necessarye in Souldiours. For that swiftnesse, maketh them apte to possess places, before the enemye, and to come to them looked for, and at vnwares to pursue them, when they are discomforted: the readinesse, maketh them apt to auoide a blowe, to leape ouer a ditche, to winne a bank: strength maketh them the better able to beare their armours, to incounter the enemye, to withstande a violence. And aboue all, to make the bodie the more apt to take paines, they vsed to beare great burthens, the which custome is necessarye: for that in difficult expeditions, it is requisite many times, that the Souldiour beside his armours, beare victualles for manye dayes, and if he were not accustomed to this labour, he could not do it: and without this, there can neither be auoided a perill, nor a victorie gotten with fame. Concerning to learne how to handle the weapons, they exercised them, in this maner: they would haue y<sup>e</sup> young men, to put on armour, which should waie twice as much, as their field armour, and in steede of a sword, they gaue them a cudgell leaded, which in comparison of a verie sword in deede, was most heauie: they made for euery one of them, a poste to be set vp in the ground, whiche should be in the height two yardes and a quarter, and in such maner, and so strong, that the blowes should not stir nor hurle it downe, against the which poste, the young man with a Targaet, and with the cudgell, as against an enemye did exercise, and some whiles he strooke, as though he would hurte the heade, or the face, some whiles



While he retired backe , an other while he made soze warde:and they had in this exercise,this aduertisement, to make them apte to couer themselues,and to hurt the enemie:and hauing the counterfeit armours most heauie , their ordinarie armours seemed after vnto them moze lighter.The Romanes , woulde that their Souldiours shoulde hurte with the pycke , and not with the cut,as well because the pycke is moze moztall , & hath lesse defence,as also to y<sup>e</sup> intent,that he that shoulde hurt, might lye the lesse open, & be moze apte to redouble it, then with cuttes.Do not maruaile that these auncient mē, should thinke on these small things,soz that where the incountering of men is reasoned of , you shall perceyue , y<sup>e</sup> cuery litle vauntage,is of great importaunce : and I remember you the same , whiche the wryters of this declare , rather then I to teache you. The antiquitie esteemed nothing moze happie, in a common weale, then to be in the same many men exercised in armes : because not the shining of precious stones and of golde maketh that the enemies submit them selues vnto the, but onely the feare of the weapons:after warde, the errors which are made in other things, may sometimes be cozrected, but those which are done in the warre, the payne straight waye comming on, cannot be amended. Besides that, the knowledge to fight, maketh men moze bolde, because no man feareth to do that thing, whiche he thinketh to haue learned to do.The antiquitie would therefore , that their Citezens shoulde exercise them selues , in all matriall feates , and they made them to thzowe against the same poste , dartes muche heauier then the ordinarie : the which exercise, besides the making men experte in thzowing , maketh also the arme moze nimble,and much stronger. They taught them also to shote in the long bowe,so whozle with the sling, and to all these things,they appointed maisters,in such manner , that after when they were chosen soz to

VWhat the antiquitie esteemed most happie in a commo<sup>n</sup> weale.

Monster Maisters,for the exercis<sup>ing</sup> of you<sup>ng</sup> men v<sup>u</sup>ex<sup>pe</sup>рте.

## The second Booke of

go to the warre, they were now with minde and disposition, souldiours. For there remayned them to learne other, then to go in the orders, and to maintayne them selues in those, either marching, or fighting: The which most easely they learned, mingling them selues with those, which had long time serued, whereby they knew howe to stande in the orders.

Cosimo. What exercises woulde you cause them to make at this present?

The exercises that souldiers ought to make in these daies.

Fabritio. A good manye of those, whiche haue béene declared, as running, and wrestling, making them to leape, making them to labour in armours, muche heavier then the ordinarie, making them shoote with Crosse bowes, and long bowes, wherunto I woulde ioyne the barkabus, a newe instrument (as you knowe) very necessary, and to these exercises I would vse all the youth of my state, but with greater industrie, & moze sollicitatenesse y<sup>e</sup> same part, which I should haue already appointed to serue, and allwayes in the idle dayes, they shoulde be exercised. I would also that they shoulde learne to swimme, the which is a thing very profitable: for that there be not alwaies, bridges ouer riuers, boats be not alwaies readye: so that thy armie not knowing howe to swimme, remayneth depriv'd of manye commodities: and many occasions to worke well, is taken

The exercise of swimming.

Tiber, is a riuer running through Rome, the water where of will neuer corrupt.

awaye. The Romanes for none other cause had ordeyned, that the young men shoulde exercise them selues in Campus Martius, then onely, for that hauing Tiber at hande, they mighte, being wried with the exercise on lande, refreshe them selues in the water, and partlye in swimming, to exercise themselves. I would make also, as y<sup>e</sup> antiquitie, those which should serue on horsebacke to exercise, the which is most necessary, for that besides to know how to ride, they must knowe howe on horsebacke, they may preuaile of thē. And for this they had ordeyned horses of wood, vpon the which they practised, to leape

The exercise of vaulting, and comodie therof.



leape vp armed, and vnarmed, without anye helpe, & on euery hande: the which made, that at ones, and at a beck of a Capitayne, the hozsemen were on foote, and likewise at a token, they mounted on hozsebacke. And such exercises, both on foote and on hozsebacke, as they were then easy to be done, so nowe they should not be difficulte to the same common weale, or to the same prince which woulde cause them to be put in practise of their young men. As by experience is seene, in certayne Cities of the West countrye, where is kepte a liue like maners with this order. They deuide all their inhabitants into diuers partes: and euery parte they name of the kinde of those weapons, that they vse in the warre. And soz that they vse Pikes, Halberdes, Bowes, and Parkebuses, they call them Pike men, Halberders, Parkebutters, & Archars: Therfoze, it is mette soz all the inhabitants to declare, in what orders they will bee appointed in. And soz that all men, either soz age, or soz other impedimentes, be not fit soz the warre, euery order maketh a choise of men, & they call them y swozen, whom in idle daies, be bounde to exercise them selues in those weapons, wherof they be named: & euery man hath his place appointed him of the rominaltie, where such exercise ought to be made: & those which be of the same order, but not of the swozen, are contributaries with their money, to the same expenses, which in suche exercises be necessarie: therfoze the same y they do, we maye do. But our small prudence doth not suffer vs, to take any good waye. Of these exercises there grew, that the antiquitie had good souldiours, and that now those of the West, be better men then ours: soz as muche as the antiquitie exercised them, either at home (as those common weales do) or in the armies, as those Emperours did, soz the occasions afozesaide: but we, at home will not exercise them, in Campe we cannot, because they are not our subjects, & soz that we are not able to binde

An order that is taken in certayne countries, concerning exercises of vvarre.

## The second Booke of

them to other exercises then they themselves list to do: the which occasion hath made, that first the armies bee neglected, & after the orders, & that the kingdomes, and the common weales, in especially Italians, liue in suche debilitie. But let vs tourne to our order, and following this matter of exercises, I saye, howe it suffiseth not to make good armies, soz hauing hardened the men, made them strong, swift, and handsome, where it is needefull also, that they learne to stand in the orders, to obey to signes, to soundes, and to the voice of the capitayne: to knowe, standing, to retire them selues, going sozwardes, both fighting, & marching to maintayne those: because without this knowledge, with all serious diligence obserued, and practised, there was neuer armie good: and without doubt, the fierce and disordered men, be much moze weaker, then the fearfull that are ordered, soz that the order driueth away from men feare, the disorder abateth fiercenesse. And to the intent you maye the better perceyue that, whiche here following shalbe declared, you haue to vnderstande, howe euery nation, in the ordering of their men to the warre, haue made in their host, or in their armie, a principall member, the which though they haue varied with the name, they haue little varied with the number of the men: soz that they all haue made it, betwē sixe & viij. M. men. This number of men was called of the Romanes, a Legion, of Grekes, a Fallange: of Frenchemen, Caterua: this very same in our time of the Suizzers, whom only of the auncient warfare, keepe some shadowe, is called in their tongue that, which in ours significth the maine battaile. True it is, that euery one of them, hath after deuided it, according to their purposes. Therefore mee thinkes best, that wee grounde oure talke, vpon this name moste knowen, and after, according to the aunciente, & to the orders nowe a daies, the best that is possible to ordayne it: and because the Romanes deu-

What  
knowledge  
a souldiour  
ought to  
haue.



ded their Legion, which was made betwene five & six thousand men, in ten Cohortes, I will that wee deuide our maine battaile, into tenne battailes, and that wee make it of six thousand men on foote, and we will geue to euery battaile. CCC. I. mē, of which shal be. CCC. armed with heauie armour, and .L. with light armour: the heauie armed, shal be. CCC. Targettes with sweardes, and shalbe called Target men: and .C. with Pikes, which shalbe called ordinarie Pikes: the lighte armed shalbe .L. men armed with Barkabuses, Crosse bowes, and Partisans, and small Targaettes, & these by an auncient name, were called ordinarie Veliti: all the ten battrailes therfoze, comes to haue thre thousande Targaet men, a thousande ordinarie Pikes. CCC. ordinarie Veliti, all which make the number of sower thousand and five hundred men. And we saide, that we would make the maine battaile of six thousande: therfoze there must be added an other thousande, five hundred men, of the which I will appoind a thousand with Pikes, whom I will call extraordinarie Pikes, & five hundred light armed, whom I will call extraordinary Veliti: and thus my men should come (as a litle before I haue saied) to be made halfe of Targaetes, and halfe of Pikes and other weapons. I would appoind to euery battaile, or bande of men, a Conestable, sower Centurions, and fourtie Peticapitaines, and moze ouer a heade to the ordinarie Veliti, with five peticapitaines: I would geue to the thousande extraordinarie Pikes, thre Conestables, ten Centurions, and a hundred peticapitaines: to the extraordinarie Veliti, two Conestables, v. Centurions, and .l. peticapitaines: I would then appoind a generall head, ouer all the maine battaile: I would that euery Conestable should haue an Ansigne, and a Drum. Thus there should be made a maine battaile of ten battailes of thre thousande Targaetmen, of a thousande ordinarie Pikes,

A Cohort is a banle of men.

Of vvhath number and of vvhath kind of armours & vveapons, a maine battaile ought to bee, and the distributing and appoindment of the same.

Veliti are light armed men.

The capitaines that are appoindet to euery band of mē.

## The second Booke of

of a thousande extraordinary, of five hundred ordinary  
Weliti, of five hundred extraordinary, so there shoulde  
come to be sixe thousande men, amongst the whiche  
there shoulde be *M. D.* Capitaynes, and mozeouer  
*xv.* Conestables, with *xv.* Drummes, and *xv.* Ansignes,  
*lv.* Centurions, *x.* heades of the ordinary Weliti, and a  
Capitayn ouer all the maine battayle, with his Ansigne  
and Drumme: and I haue of purpose repeated this or-  
der the oftener, to the intent, that after when I shall  
shewe you the maners of ordering the battailes, and the  
armies, you shoulde not be confounded: I saye therefore  
how that, that king, or that common weale, which in-  
tendeth to ordeyne their subiectes to armes, oughte to  
appointe them with these armours and weapons, and  
with these partes, & to make in their countrie so many  
mayne battailes, as it were able: and when they shoulde  
haue ordeyned them, according to the foresaide distribu-  
tion, minding to exercise them in the orders, it shoulde  
suffice to exercise euery battaile by it selfe: and  
although the number of the men, of euery one of them:  
cannot by it selfe, make the fashion of a iuste armie, not  
withstanding, euery man maye learne to do the same,  
which particularly appertayneth vnto him: for that in  
the armies, two orders is obserued, the one, the same  
that the men ought to do in euery battaile, and the other  
that, whiche the battaile oughte to do after, when it is  
with the other in armie. And those men, which do well  
the first, most easly may obserue the second: But with-  
out knowing the same, they can neuer come to the  
knowledge of the second. When (as I haue sayde) euery  
one of these battailes, maye by them selues, learne to  
keepe the orders of the arayes, in euery qualitie of mo-  
uing, and of place, & after learne to put them selues to-  
gethers, to vnderstande the sounds, by meanes wherof  
in the fight they are commaunded, to learne to knowe  
by that, as the Gallies by the whistle, what oughte to  
be

Two orders  
obserued in  
an armie.



be done, either to stande still, or to tourne forward, or to tourne backward, or which way to tourne the weapons and the face: so that knowing how to kepe welthe aray after such sorte, that neither place nor mouing maye disorder them, vnderstanding well the commaundesmentes of their heades, by meanes of the sounde, and knowing quickly how to returne into their place, these battailes may after easly (as I haue said) being brought many together, learne to do that, which all the body together, with the other battailes in a iust army is bound to do. And because such vniuersall practise, is also not to be esteemed a litle, ones or twice a yere, when there is peace, all the main battaile may be brought together, to geue it the fashio of an whole armie, some daies exercising them, as though they should faight a fielde, setting the fronte, and the sides with their succours in their places. And bicause a capitaine ordeineth his host to the fielde, either for coumpte of the enemye he seeth, or for that, of which without seing he doubteth, he ought to exercise his armie in the one maner, and in the other, and to instructe them in suche sorte, that they maye knowe howe to march, & to faight when nede should require, shewing to his souldiours, howe they shoulde gouerne them selues, when they should happen to bee assaulted of this or of that side: and where he ought to instructe them howe to fight against the enemye, whom they should see, he must shewe them also, howe the faight is begun, & where they ought to retire: being ouerthorwen, who hath to succede in their places, to what signes, to what soundes, to what voices they ought to obeie, and to practise them in such wise in the battaile, and with fained assaultes, that they may desire the verie thyng in dede. For that an armie is not made coragious, because in the same bee hardie men, but by reason the orders thereof bee well appointed: For as muche as if I be one of the first faighters, & do knowe,

How a capitaine must instruct his souldiers how they ought to gouerne them selues in the battaile.

being

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being overcome, where I may retire, and who hath to succede in my place, I shall alwayes fight with boldnesse, seeing my succour at hande. If I shall be one of the seconde fighters, the firste being dziven backe, and ouerthrowen, I shall not be afraide, for y<sup>e</sup> I shall haue presupposed that I may bee, and I shall haue desire to be the same, which may giue the victozy to my maister, and not to bee any of the other. These exercises be most necessary, where an armie is made of newe, and where the olde armie is, they be also necessary: for that it is also seenie, howe the Romanes knewe from their infancie, the order of their armies, notwithstanding, those Captaynes befoze they should come to the enemye, continually did exercise them in those. And Iosephus in his hystorie sayeth, that the continuall exercises of the Romanes armies, made that all the same multitude, which followe the campe for gaine, was in the day of battaile profitable: because they all knewe, howe to stande in the orders, and to fight keeping the same: but in the armies of newe men, whether thou haue put them together, to fighte straight waie, or that thou make a power to fighte, when neede requires, without these exercises, as wel of the battailes severally by themselves as of all the armie, is made nothing: wherefoze the orders being necessary, it is conuenient with double industry and labour, to shewe them vnto such as knoweth them not, and for to teache it, manye excellent Capitaynes haue trauailed, without any respect.

Cosimo. He thinkes that this reasoning, hath somewhat transported you: for asmuche, as hauing not yet declared the wayes, with the which the battailes be exercised, you haue reasoned of the whole armie, and of the daye of battaile.

Fabritio. You say truethe, but surely the occasion hath bene the affection, which I beare to these orders, and the griefe that I feele, seeing they be not put in vze: not  
with



Withstanding, doubt not but that I will tourne to the purpose: as I haue sayde, the chiefe importaunce that is in the exercise of the battailes, is to knowe howe to keepe well the arrayes: and because I tolde you that one of these battailes, ought to be made of foure hundred men beaue armed, I will stape my selfe vpon this number. They ought then to be brought into lxxx. rankes, & siue to a ranke: afterwarde going fast, or softly, to knit them together, and to lose them: the whiche howe it is done, may be shewed better with deedes, then with wordes. Which needeth not greatly to be taught, for that euerye mā. who is practised in seruice of warre, knoweth how this order proceedeth, which is good for no other, then to vse the souldiers to keepe the raye: but let vs come to put together one of these battailes, I say, that there is giuen them threë fashions pyncipally, the firste, and the most profitablest is, to make all massiue, and to giue it the fashion of two squares, the seconde is, to make it square with the front horned, the thirde is, to make it with a boide space in the middelt: the maner to put men together in the first fashion, maye be of two soytes. the one is double the rankes, that is, to make the seconde ranke enter into the first, the iij. into the thirde, the siue into the fiffe, and so forth, so that where there was lxxx. rankes, siue to a ranke, they maye become xl. rankes x. to a ranke. Afterwarde cause the to double ones more in the same maner, setting y one ranke into an other, & so there shall remayn twetic rankes, twentie men to a ranke: this maketh two squares about, for as much as albeit that there be as many men the one waye, as in the other, notwithstanding towarde the head, they ioyne together, that the one side toucheth the other: but by the other waye, they be distant the one from the other, at least a yarde and a halfe, after suche soyte, that the square is muche longer, from the backe to the fronte, then from the one side to thother: and because we haue

The chiefe importaunce in the exercising of bandes of men.

Three principal fashions for thordering of men into battaile raie.

The maners howe to bring a band of men into battaile raie after asquare fashion.

at

## The second Booke of

at this present, to speake often of the partes afoze, of behinde, and of the sides of these battailes, & of all the armie together, knowe you, that when I saye either head or fronte, I meane the parte afoze, when I shall saye backe, the part behinde, when I shall saye flankes, the partes on y sides. The fiftie ordinarie beliti of the battaile, must not mingle with y other rankes, but so soone as the battaile is fashioned, they shalbe set a long by the flankes therof. The other waye to set together the battaile is this, and because it is better then the firste, I will set it befoze your eyes iust, how it ought to be ordeyned. I belæue that you remember of what number of men, of what heads it is made, and of what armours they are armed: then the fashion, that this battaile ought to haue, is (as I haue sayde) of twentie rankes, twentye men to a ranke, fiue rankes of Pikes in the front, and fiftene rankes of Targaettes on the backe, two Centuriôs standing in the front, two behinde on the backe, who shall execute the office of those, which the antiquity called Tergiductory. The Conestable with y Ansigne, and with the Dymme, shall stande in the same space, that is betwene the fiue rankes of the Pikes, and the fiftene of the Targaettes. Of the Peticaptaynes, there shall stande one vpon euery side of the ranckes, so that euery one, may haue on his side his men, those Peticapitaynes, which shalbe on the lefte hande, to haue their men on the right hande: those Peticapitaynes, whiche shall be on the right hand, to haue their men on the lefte hand: The fiftie Weliti, must stande a long the flankes, and on the backe of the battaile. To minde nowe, that this battaile maye bæ set together in this fashion, the men going ordinarlye, it is convenient to order them thus. Make the men to bæ broughte into, lxxx. rankes, fiue to a ranke, as a litle afoze we haue sayde, leauing the Weliti either at the heade, or at the taile, so that they stande out of this order; and it ought to bæ

The better  
vvaie for the  
ordring of a  
band of mē  
in battaile  
raie, after the  
first facion.



ordained, that euery Centurion haue behinde his backe  
twentie rankes, and to be nexte behinde euery Centu-  
rion, fīue rankes of Pikes, and the rest Targaettes.  
The Conestable shall stande with the Drum, and the  
ansigne, in the same space, which is between the Pikes,  
and the Targaettes of the seconde Centurion, and to  
occupie the places of thre targaet men. Of the Peticap-  
taynes, twentie shall stande on the sides of the rankes,  
of the first Centurion, on the left hande, and twentie  
shall stande on the sides of the rankes, of the last Cen-  
turion on the righte hande. And you must vnderstande,  
that the Peticapayne, whiche hath to leade the Pikes,  
ought to haue a Pike, & those that leade the Targaettes,  
ought to haue like weapons. Then the rankes being  
brought into this order, and minding in marching, to  
bzing them into battaile, for to make the heade, the  
first Centurion must be caused to stande still, with the  
first twentie rankes, and the seconde to procede mar-  
ching, and tourning on the righte hande, he must go a-  
long the sides of the twentie rankes that stande still, till  
he come to be euen with the other Centurion, where he  
must also stande still, and the thirde Centurion, to pro-  
cede marching, likewise tourning on the righte hande,  
and along the sides of the rankes that stande still, must  
go so farre, that he be euen with the other two Centu-  
rions, and he also standing still, the other Centurion  
must folowe with his rankes, likewise tourning on the  
righte hande, along the sides of the rankes that stande  
still, so farre that he come to the heade of the other, and  
then to stande still, and straight waye two Centurions  
onely, shall departe from the fronte, and go to the backe  
of the battaile, the which cometh to be made in y same  
maner, and with the same order iuste, as a litle afoze I  
haue shewed you. The Welitt muste stande a long, by  
the flankes of the same, according as is disposed in the  
first waye, whiche waye is called redoubling by right  
line,

## The second Booke of

line, this is called redoubling by flanke: the first way is moze easy, this is with better order, and comineth better to passe, and you maye better correcte it, after your owne maner, for that in redoubling by right line, you must be ruled by the number, because five maketh ten, ten twentie, twentie forty, so that with redoubling by right line, you cannot make a head of fiftene, no2 of five and twentie, no2 of thirtie, no2 of five and thirtie, but you must go where the same number will leade you.

And yet it happeneth euery daye in particular affaires, that it is conueniente to make the foze ward with five hundred, o2 eight hundred men, so that to redouble by right line, should disorder you: therefore this liketh mee better: that difficultie that is, ought most with practise, and with exercise to be made easy. Therefore I say vnto you, how it impozteth moze then any thing, to haue the Souldiours to knowe how to set them selues in araye quickly, and it is necessary to keepe the in this battaile, to exercise them therein, and to make them to go apace, either fo2warde o2 backe warde, to passe through difficulte places, without troubling the order: for as muche as the souldiours, whiche can do this well, bee experte souldiours, and although they haue neuer seen enemies in the face, they maye be called old souldiours, and contrarywise, those whiche can not keepe these orders, though they haue been in a thousand warres, they ought alwayes to be reputed newe souldiours. This is, concerning setting them together, when they are marching in small rankes: but being set, and after being broken by some accident o2 chaunce, whiche groweth either of the situation, o2 of the enemye, to make that in a sodaine they may come into order againe, this is the impoztance and the difficultie, and where is needefull muche exercise, and much practise, and wherein the antiquitie bestowed muche studie. Therefore, it is necessarie to doo two thinges, firste to haue this battaile full of countersignes,



ferignes, the other to keepe alwaies this order, that those same men maie stand alwaies in y<sup>e</sup> ranke, which they were firste placed in: as for in sample, if one haue begon to stande in the seconde, that he stande after alwaie in that, & not only in that selfe same rancke, but in that selfe same place: for the obseruing whereof (as I haue saide) be necessaric many countersignes. In especially it is requisite, that the Ansigne bee after such sorte countersigned, that companing with the other battels, it may be knowen from them, according as the Conestable, & the Centurions haue plumes of fethers in their heades differente, & easie to be knowen, and that which importeth most, is to ordaine that the peticapitaines bee knowen. Wherevnto the antiquitie had so much care, that they would haue nothing els w<sup>r</sup>itten in their head p<sup>a</sup>ces, but the n<sup>o</sup>ber that they were named by, calling the first, second, thirde, and fourth &c. And yet they were not contented with this, but made euery souldiour to haue w<sup>r</sup>itten in his Targaet, the number of the ranke, and the number of the place, in whiche ranke he was appointed. When the men being countersigned thus, and vsed to stande betw<sup>e</sup>ene these limites, it is an easy thing, they being disordered, to set them all againe quickl<sup>y</sup>e into order: considering, that the Ansigne standing still, the Centurions, and the Peticapitaynes may gesse their places by the eye, and being brought the left of the lefte, the righte of the righte, with their accustomed distance, the souldiours lead by their rule, and by the differences of the cognisances, maye be quickly in their proper places, no other wise, then as if the bozdes of a tunne shoulde bee taken a sunder, whiche being firste marked, most easly maye bee set together againe, where the same being not countersigned, were impossible to bring into order any moze. These things, withe diligence and withe exercise are quickl<sup>y</sup>e taught, and quickl<sup>y</sup>e learned, and being learned, with

How to exercise me, & to take such order, vvh<sup>e</sup>reby a band of men that were by vvhatsocuer chance disordre, may straight way be brought into order a gaine.

## The second Booke of

difficulty are forgotten: for that the new men, be lead of the olde, and with time, a Province with these exercises, may become thoroughly practised in the warre. It is also necessary to teache them, to tourne them selues all at ones, and when neede requires, to make of the flankes, and of the backe, the fronte, and of the fronte, flankes, or backe, which is moste easy: because it sufficeth that every man do tourne his bodye, towardes the same part that he is commaunded, & where they tourne their faces, there the fronte commeth to be. True it is, that when they tourne to any of the flankes, the orders tourne out of their proportion: for that from the bzeast to the backe, there is litle difference, and from the one flanke to the other, there is very much distace, the whiche is all contrarye to the ordinarie order of the battaile: therefore it is convenient, that practise, and discretion, do place them as they ought to be: but this is small disorder, for that most easly by themselves, they may remedy it. But that which impoerteth moze, and where is requisite moze practise, is when a battaile woulde tourne all at ones, as though it were a whole body, here is neede to haue great practise, and great discretion, because minding to tourne, as for insample on the lefte hande, the left corner must stande still, and those that be next to him that standeth still, must marche so softly that they that be in the right corner, neede not to runne: otherwise all thing should be confounded. But because it happeneth alwayes, when an armie marcheth from place to place, that the battailes, whiche are not placed in the fronte, shall bee driuen to fighte not by heade, but either by flanke, or by backe, so that a battaile must in a sodayne make of flanke, or of backe, heade: and minding that like battailes in suche case, maye haue their proportion, as aboue is declared, it is necessarye, that they haue the Pikes on the same flanke, that oughte to bee head, and the Petieaptaynes, Centurions

What advertisement ought to be vsed in turning aboute a vvhole band of mē, after suche sorte, as though it were but one bodie.



Centurions, and Conestables, to resort accordingly to their places. Therfoze to minde to do this, in plasing them together, you must ordeyne the foure scoze rankes, of five in a ranke, thus: Set all the Pikes in the first twentie rankes, and place the Deticaptaynes therof, five in the firste places, and five in the last: the other thze scoze rankes, which come after, be all of Targaettes, which come to be thze Centuries. Therfoze, the firste and the last ranke of euery Centurion, woulde be Deticaptaynes, the Conestable with the Ansigne, and with the Drumme, must stande in the middlest of the firste Centurie of Targaets, and the Centurions in the head of euery Centurie. The bande thus ordayne, when you would haue the Pikes to come on the left flanke, you must redouble Centurie by Centurie, on y right flanke: if you would haue them to come on the right flanke, you must redouble the on the left. And so this battaile tourneth with the Pikes vpon a flanke, and the Conestable in the middlest: the which fashion it hath marching: but the enemye comming, and the time that it woulde make of flanke head, it needeth not but to make euery man to tourne his face, towardes the same flanke, where the Pikes be, & then the battaile tourneth with the rankes, and with the heades in the same maner, as is aforesayde: soz that euery man is in his place, excepte the Centurions, and the Centurions straight way, and without difficultie, place them selues: But when they in marching, should be ordaind to fight on the backe, it is conueniente to ordeyne the rankes after suche sorte, that setting them in battaile, the Pikes maye come behinde, and to do this, there is to be kepte no other order, then where in ordering to battaile, by the ordinarie, euery Centurie hath five rankes of Pikes befoze, to cause that they maye haue them behinde, and in all the othor partes to obserue the order, whiche I declared first.

Howe to order a bande of men after such sorte that they maye make their fronte against the enemye of ymme flanke the last.

Howe a bad of men ought to be ordered, vvhē in marching they should be constrained to fight on their backe.

## The second Booke of

Cosimo. You haue tolde (if I do well remember mee) that this maner of exercise, is to be able to bring these battailes together into an armie, and that this practise, serueth to bee able to order them selues in the same: But if it shoulde happen, that these. CCCX. men, should haue to do an acte seperate, how would you order them?

Fabritio. He that leadeth them, ought then to iudge, where he will place the Pikes, and there to put them, the which doth not repugne in anye parte to the order aboue wyitten: for that also, though the same bee the maner, that is obserued to fighte a fielde, together with the other battailes, notwithstanding it is a rule, whiche serueth to all those wayes, wherin a band of men should happen to haue to do: but in shewing you the other two wayes of mee ppropounded, of ordering the battailes, I shall also satisfie you moze to your question: for that whether they are neuer vsed, or they are vsed when a battaile is a lone, and not in companie of other, and to come to the waye of ordering them, with two hoznes I say, that thou oughtest to order the lxxx. rankes, fiue to a ranke, in this maner. Place in the middelt, one Centurion, & after him xxv. rankes, which must be with two Pikes, on the lefte hande, and with three Targaettes on the right, and after the firste fiue, there muste be put in the twentieth following, twentieth Deticaptaynes, all betwene the Pikes, and the Targaettes, excepte those which beare the Pike, whome maye stande with the Pikes: after these xxv. rankes thus ordered, there is to be placed an other Centurion, and behinde him fiftene rankes of Targaettes: after these, the Conestable betwene the Drum and the Ansigne, who also must haue after him, other fiftene rankes of Targaettes, after this, the third Centurion must be placed, and behinde him, xxv. ranks, in euerye one of whiche, oughte to bee three Targaettes on the lefte flankce, and two Pikes on the  
right,

How a battaile is made with 2. hoznes.



right, and after the five first rankes, there muste be xx. Peticaplaynes placed between the Pikes, and the Targaettes: after these rankes, the fourth Centurion must followe. Intending therfoze, of these rankes thus ordered, to make a battaile with two hoznes, the first Centurion must stande still, with the xxv. rankes which be behinde him, after the seconde Centurion must moue, with the fiftene rankes of Targaetts, that be behinde him, and to tourne on the righte hande, and by by the righte flank of the xxv. rankes, to go so farre, that hee arriue to the xv. ranke, and there to stande still: after, the Conestable must moue, with the fiftene rankes of Targaettes, which be behinde him, and turning likewise on the righte hande, by by the righte flank of the fiftene rankes, that were first moued, must marche so farre, that he come to their heades, and there to stande still: after the thirde Centurion must moue with the xxv. rankes, and with the fourth Centurion, whiche was behinde, and turning by straight, muste go along by the righte flank of the fiftene last rankes of the targaettes, and not to stande still when he is at the heades of them, but to folloze marching so farre, that the last ranke of the xxv. may come to be euen with the rankes behinde. And this done, the Centurion, which was heade of the firste fiftene rankes of Targaettes, must go awaye from thence where hee stood, and go to the backe in the lefte cozner: and thus a battaile shall be made of xxv. rankes, after twentie men to a ranke, with two hozns, vpon euery side of the front one hozne, and euery one, shall haue tenne rankes, five to a ranke, and there shall remayn a space between the two hozns, as muche as containeth tenne men, whiche tourne their sides, y one to the other. Betwixen the two hoznes, the Capitayne shall stande, and on euerye pointe of a hozne, a Centurion: There shall be also behinde, on euery cozner, a Centurion: there shalbe two rankes

## The second Booke of

The ordering  
of a battaile  
with a void  
space in the  
middest.

of Pikes, and xx. Peticaptaines on euery flanke. These two hoznes, serue to keepe betwene them the artillerie, when this battaile shoulde haue anye with it, and the cariages: The Meliti muste stande a long the flankes, vnder the Pikes. But minding to bring this hozned battaile, with a void space in the middest, there ought no other to be done, then of fiftene rankes, of twentie to a ranke, to take eight rankes, and to place them on the pointes of the two hoznes, which then of hoznes, become backe of the void space. In this place, the cariages are kept, the Capitayne standeth, and the Ansigne, but neuer the Artillerie, the which is placed either in the fronte, or a long the flankes. These be the wayes, that a battaile may vse when it is constrained to passe alone through suspected places: notwithstanding the maner battaile without hoznes, and without anye suche void place is better, yet purposing to assure the disarmed, the same hozned battaile is necessarye. The Suizzers make also many fashions of battailes, among which, they make one like vnto a crosse: because in the spaces that is betwene the armes thereof, they keepe safe their Harkebuters from the danger of the enemies: but because such battailes be good to fight by them selues, and my intent is to shewe, howe manye battailes vnited, do fight with the enemye, I will not labour further in describing them. Cosimo. He thinkes I haue very well comprehended the way, that ought to be kepte to exercise the men in these battailes: But (if I remember mee well) you haue saide, howe that besides the ten battailes, you toyne to the mayne battaile, a thousande extraordinary Pikes, and five hundred extraordinary Meliti: will you not appointe these to be exercised?

Fabritio. I woulde haue them to be exercised, and that with most great diligence: and the Pikes I would exercise, at least ansigne after ansigne, in the orders of the battailes, as the other: For as muche as these shoulde



shoulde do mee more seruice, then the ordinarie battails, in all particular affaires: as to make guides, to get botties, and to do like things: but the Meliti, I woulde exercise at home, without bringing them together, for that their office being to fight a sonder, it is not meete, that they should companie with other, in the common exercises: for that it shall suffice, to exercise them well in the particular exercises. They ought then (as I firste tolde you, now now me thinkes no labour to rehearse it againe) to cause their men to exercise them selues in these battailes, wherby they maye know howe to keepe the raye, to know their places, to turne quickly, whē either enemy, or situatiō troubleth thē: for that, when they knowe how to do this, the place is after easly learned, which a battaile hath to keepe, & what is the office thereof in the armie: and when a Prince, or a cōmon weale, will take the paine, and will vse their diligence in these orders, and in these exercising, it shall alwayes happen that in their countrie, there shall be god souldiours, and they to be superious to their neighbours, and shall be those, which shall giue, and not receyue the lawes of other men: but (as I haue sayde) the disorder wherein they liue, maketh that they neglect, and do not esteeme these things, and therfore our armies be not good: and yet though there were either head, or member naturally vertuous, they cannot thewe it.

Cosimo. What cariages woulde you, that euerye one of these battailes should haue?

Fabritio. First, I woulde that neither Centurion, nor Peticapayne, should be suffered to ride: and if the Conestable would needes ride, I would that he should haue a Mule, and not a horse, I woulde allowe him two cariages, and one to euerye Centurion, and two to euerye three Peticapaynes, for that so manye we lodge in a lodging, as in the place thereof we shall tell you: So that euerye battaile will come to haue xxxvi.

To what purpose the pikes & veliti, extraordinary must serue.

Neither Centurion nor peticapayne ought not to ride. VVhat cariages the captaines ought to haue, and the number of cariages requisite to euery bande of men.

## The second Booke of

carriages, the whiche I would should carrie of necessity the tentes, the vessels to seeth meate, arcs, barres of Iron sufficiente to make the lodinges, and then if they can carrye anye other thing, they maye doo it at their pleasure.

Cosimo. I beleue that the heades of you, ordeyned in euery one of these battayles, be necessarye: albeit, I would doubt, lest that so many commaunders, should confound all.

Fabritio. That should be, when it were not referred to one man, but referring it, they cause order, yea, and without them, it is impossible to gouerne an armie: for that a wall, which on euerye parte inclineth, requireth rather to haue many proppes, & thicke, although not so strong, then few, though they were strong: because the vertue of one a lone, doth not remedie the ruine a farre of. And therefore in the armies, and among euerye sennemen, it is conuenient that there be one, of moze life, of moze harte, or at least wise of moze auctoritie, who with stomacke, with wordes, and with example, maye keepe them constant, and disposed to fight, & these things of mee declared, be necessary in an armie, as the heads, the Ansignes, and the Drummes, is seene that we haue them all in our armies, but none doth his office. First to minde that the Deticaptaynes do the same, for whiche they are ordeyned, it is necessary (as I haue saide) that there be a difference, betwene euery one of them and their men, and that they lodge together, doing their duties, standing in the order with them: for that they placed in their places, be a rule & a temperaunce, to maine taine the rayes straighte and speedie, and it is impossible that they disorder, or disordering, do not reduce them selues quickly into their places. But we nowe aduaies, doe not vse them to other purpose, then to giue them moze wages, then to other men, and to cause that they doo some particular scate: The verge same  
hapens;



happeneth of the Ansigne bearers, soz that they are kept rather to make a faire muster, then soz any other warlike vse: but the antiquitie vsed them soz guides, and to bring themselues againe into order: soz that euery mā, so sone as the Ansigne stode still, knewe the place, that he kept nere to his Ansigne, wherevnto he returned alwaies: they knew also, how that the same mouing or standing, they should staie, or moue: therfore it is necessary in an armie, that there be many bodies, and euery bande of men to haue his Ansigne, and his guide: wherefoze hauing this, it is meete that they haue stomackes inough, and by consequence life enough. Then the me ought to march according to the Ansigne: & the Ansigne to moue, according to the Drumme, the whiche Drumme well ordered, commaundeth to the armie, the which going with paces, that answereth the time of the same, wil come to kepe easly the orders: soz which cause the antiquitie had Shalmes Flutes, and soundes perfectly timed: for as much as like as he that danseth, proceadeth with the time of the Musick, and going with the same doeth not erre, euen so an armie obeying, in mouyng it selfe to the same sounde, doeth not disorder: and therfore they varied the sounde, according as they would varye the mocion, and according as they would inflame, or quiete, or staie the mindes, of men: and like as the sounde were diuers, so dyuersly they named them: the sounde Dozico, ingendered constancie, the sounde Frigio, furie: whereby they saye, that Alexander being at the Table, and one sounding the sounde Frigio, it kindled so muche his minde, that hee laied hande on his weapons. All these maners should bee necessarie to finde againe: and when this shoulde bee difficult, at leaste there would not be left behinde those that teache the Souldiour to obeye, the whiche euerye man may vary, and ordayne after his owne fashion, so that with practise, hee accustoms the eares of his soul-

To vvhath purpose Ansignes ought to seme.

For vvhath purpose Drummes ought to be vsed.

The proper- tie that sou- des of instru- mentes haue in mens miades.

## The second Booke of

glours to knowe it: But nowe adayes of this sounde, there is no other fruite taken for the most part, then to make a rumour.

Cosimo. I woulde desire to vnderstande of you, if euer with your selfe you haue discovered, whereof groweth so much vilnesse, and so much disorder, and so much negligence in these dayes of this exercise?

A notable  
discourse of  
the author  
declaring  
vherof groweth  
so much vilnesse  
disorder &  
negligence  
in these days  
concerning  
the exercises  
of war.

Fabritio. With a good will I wyll tell you the same that I thinke. You know how that of the excellent men of warre, there hath been named many in Europe, fewe in Affric, and lesse in Asia: this grew for that these two last partes of the worlde, haue had not past one kingdome or two, and fewe common weales but Europe onely, hath had many kingdomes, and infinite comon weales, where men became excellent, and did shewe their vertue, according as they were set a worke, and brought before their Prince, or common weale, or King that he be: it followeth therefore, that where be many dominions, there rise many valiaunt men, and where be fewe, fewe. In Asia is founde Ninus, Cirus, Artaxerxes, Mithredates: and very fewe other, that to these may be compared. In Affric, is named (lettyng stande the same auncient Egypt) Masinissa, Iugurta, and those Capitaynes, which of the Carthaginens common weale were nourished, whome also in respecte to those of Europe are most few: because in Europe be excellent men without number, and so many more shoulde be, if together with those shoulde be named the other, that be through the malignitie of time extinct: for that the worlde hath bene most vertuous, where hath bene most states, which haue fauoured vertue of necessitie, or for other humaine passion. There rose therefore in Asia, few excellent men: because the same Province was all vnder one kingdome, in the whiche for the greatnesse thereof, the same standyng for the most part of time idle, there could not growe men in



doinges excellent. To Africke there happened the very same, yet there were nourished moze then in Asia, by reason of the Carthaginens common weale: for that in common weales, there grow moze excellent men, then in kingdomes: because in common weales for the most part, vertue is honoured, in kingdomes it is held backe: whereby groweth, that in the one, vertuous men are nourished, in the other they are extinde. Therefore hee that shall consider the partes of Europe, shall finde it to haue been full of common weales, and of pyncedomes, the which for feare that the one had of the other, they were constrained to kepe liuely the warlike orders, & to honour them, which in those most pzeuailed: for that in Grece besides the kingdome of the Macdonians, there were many common weales, & in euery of the were bred most excellent men. In Italle, were the Romanes, the Sannites, the Toscanes, the Gallie Cisalpini. Fraunce, and Almaine, were full of common weales and pyncedomes. Spaine likewise: and although in comparison of the Romanes, there are named fewe other, it groweth through the malignitie of the wryters, whom followe fortune, and to them for the most part it sufficed, to honour the conquerours: but it standeth not with reason, that betwene the Sannites, and the Toscanes, whom fought. C. yeres with the Romanes, before they were overcome, there should not growe exceeding many excellent men. And so likewise in Fraunce, and in Spaine: but that vertue which the wryters did not celebzate in particuler men, they celebzated generally in the people, where they exalte to the Starres, the obstinatenesse that was in them, to defende their libertie. Being then true, that where be most dominions, there riseth most valiaunt men, it followeth of necessitie, that extingnishing those, vertue is extinct straightway, the occasion decaying, whiche maketh men vertuous. Therefore, the Ro-

## The second Booke of

maine Empire being after increased, and hauing exting-  
quished all the common weales, and Princedomes of  
Europe, and of Affrike, and for the most parte those of  
Asia, it left not anye waye to vertue, excepte Rome:  
Wherby grewe, that vertuous men began to be as few  
in Europe, as in Asia: the whiche vertue, came after to  
the last cast: For as much, as all the vertue being redu-  
ced to Rome, so soone as y<sup>e</sup> same was corrupted, almost  
all the worlde came to be corrupted: & the Scythian peo-  
ple, were able to come to spoile the same Empire, the  
whiche had extingquished the vertue of other, and knew  
not howe to maintaine their owne: and after, although  
throughth the inundation of those barberous nations, the  
same Empire was deuided into many partes, this ver-  
tue is not renewed: The one cause is, for that it greueth  
them muche, to take againe the orders when they are  
made, the other, because the maner of liuing nowe a-  
dayes, hauing respecte to the Christian Religion,  
commaundeth not the same necessitie to men, to de-  
fende them selues, whiche in olde time was for that  
then, the men overcome in warre, either were killed, or  
remained perpetuall slaues, where they lead their li-  
ues most miserably: The towne overcome, either  
were rased, or the inhabitants thereof driuen out, their  
goodes taken awaie, sent disperfed throughth the worlde:  
so that the vanquished in warre, suffered all extreme  
miserie: of this feare, men being made afraid, they  
were driuen to keepe liuely the warlike exercises, and  
they honoured suche as were excellent in them: But  
now abates, this feare for the most part is not regarded  
of those that are overcome, fewe be killed, none is kept  
long in prison: for that with facilitie, they are set at li-  
bertie: the Cities also, which a thousand times haue re-  
belled, are not destroyed, the men wherof, are let a long  
with their goodes, so that the greatest hurt that is feared,  
is but a taske: in so muche, that men will not submit  
them

The causes  
why the an-  
cient orders  
are neglect-  
ed.



them selues to the orders of warre, & to abide alwaies vnder those, to auoide the perilles wherof they are litle afrayed: again these Prouinces of Europe, bee vnder a verie fewe heades, in respecte as it hath bene in times past: for that all Fraunce, obeieith one king, all Spaine, an other: Italie is a fewe partes, so that the weake Cities, are defended with leauing to him that ouercometh, and the strong states, for the causes aforesaide, feare no such extreme ruine.

Cosimo. Yet their hath bene scene many townes that haue bene sacked within this xxv. yeres, and lost their dominions, whose insample, ought to teache other how to liue, and to take again some of those olde orders.

Fabritio. You saye true: but if you note what townes haue gone to sacke, you shall not finde that they haue bene the heades of states, but of the members: as was scene sacked Toztona, and not Milaine: Capua, and not Naples, Brescia, & not Venice, Raucuna, & not Rome: the which ensamples maketh those that gouerne, not to change their purposes, but rather maketh them to stande moze in their opinion, to bee able to redeme again all thinges with taskes, and for this, they will not submit them selues to the troubles of the exercises of warre, seeming vnto them partly not necessary, partly, an intricate matter, whiche they vnderstande not: Those other, which be subiects to them, whom such ensamples ought to make afrayed, haue no power to remedy it: and those Princes, that haue ones lost their states, are no moze able, & those which as yet keepe the, know not, nor will not. Because they will without any disease rain by fortune, & not by their vertue, for y in the world being but litle vertue, they see fortune gouerneth all thinges. And they will haue it to rule the, not they to rule it. And to proue this y I haue discoursed to be true, consider Almaine, in the which, because there is manye Princesdomes, and common weales, there is much

vertue

## The second Booke of

vertue, and all the same, which in the present seruice of warre is god, dependeth if the ensamples of those people, who being all gelious of their states, fearing seruitude, the which in other places is not feared, they all maintaine them selues Lordes, and honourable: this that I haue sayde, shall suffice to shewe the occasions of the present vtilitie, according to my opinion: I can not tell whether it seme the same vnto you, or whether there be growen in you any doubting.

Cosimo. None, but rather I vnderstande all very well: onely I desire touning to our principall matter, to vnderstande of you, howe you woulde ordeine the hozses with these battayles, and howe many, and howe they should be gouerned, and how armed.

Fabritio. You thinke peraduenture, that I haue left it behinde: whereat do not maruayle, for that I purpose for two causes, to speake thereof litle, the one is, for that the strength, and the impoztaunce of an armie, is the footemen, the other is, because this part of seruice of warre, is lesse corrupted then the same of footemen. For that though it be not stronger then the olde, yet it may compare with the same, neuerthelesse there hath been spokē a litle afoze, of the maner of exercising them.

The arming  
of horsemen.

And concerning the arming them, I would arme them as they do at this present, as well the light horsemen, as the men of armes: but the light horsemen, I would that they should be all Crossebowe shoters, with some Harkebuters among them: the which though in the other affaires of warre, they be litle profitable, they be for this most profitable, to make afraide the countrey men, & to driue them from a passage, that were kept of them: because a Harkebutter shall feare them moze then. any other armed. But comming to the number, I say, that hauing taken in hand, to imitate the seruice of warre of the Romanes, I would not ordeine moze then. 3. hundred horse, profitable for euery maine battel, of which I would

The vveapons that  
light horsemen should  
haue.

The nōber  
of horsemen  
requisite a  
maine bat-  
taille of sixe  
thousand  
men.



would that there were. **C**L. men of armes, and. **C**X. light hoysmen, and I would geue to euery one of these partes, a heade. making after among them fiftene pe- ticapitaines for a bande, giuing to euery one of them a Trompet and a Standard: I would that euery ten men of armes, should haue five carriages, and euery tenne light hoysmen two, the which as those of the footemen, should carrey the tentes, the bestelles, and the axes, and the flakes, and the rest of their other harnesse. Noe be- leue not but that it is disorder, where the men of armes haue to their seruice foure hoise, because such a thing is a corrupt vse: for that the men of armes in Almanie, are seene to bee with their hoise alone, euery twentye of the haying onely a carte, that carrieth after them their ne- cessarye thinges. The Romane hoysmen, were like- wise alone: true it is, that the Triary lodged nere them which were bounde to minister helpe vnto them, in the keeping of their hoises: the which maye easily be imita- ted of vs, as in the distributing of the lodgings, I shall shewe you, the same then that the Romanes did, & that whiche the Dutchemen do nowe adaires, wee maye doo also, yea, not doing it, wee erre. These hoises ordayned & appointed together with a maine battaile, maye some- times be put together, when the battailes bee assem- bled, and so cause that betwene them bee made some sight of assault, the which should be moze to make them acquainted together, then for any other necessitie. But nowe of this part, there hath bene spoken sufficiently. Wherefoze let vs fashion the armie, to bee able to come into the fildes against the enemye, and hope to winne it: which thing is the ende, for whiche the exercise of warre is ordey- ned, and so much studye therein bestowed.

The number of carriages that men of armes and light hoise- men ought to haue.

(.)

Lij.

The

# The thirde booke of the arte of warre,

of Nicholas Machiavel, Citizen and Secretarie  
of Florence, wito Laurence

Philip Strozze.

(.2.)

Cosimo.



Being that we change reasoning, I wil that y demaunder be chauged: because I would not bee thoughte presumptuous, the whiche I haue alwaies blamed in other: therfore, I resigne the Dictatorship, and giue this authoritie to him that will haue it, of these my other friendes.

Zanobi. Wee would be most glad, that you should proceede, but seeing that you will not, yet tell at least, which of vs shall succede in your place.

Cosimo. I will giue this charge to signor Fabricio.

Fabritio. I am content to take it, and I will that we followe the Venecian custome, that is, that the youngest speake firste: because this being an exercise for young men, I perswade my selfe, that young men, bee most apt to reason therof, as they be most ready to execute it.

Cosimo. When it falleth to you Luigi: and as I haue pleasure of suche a successour, so you shall satisfie your selfe of suche a demaunder: therfore I praye you, let vs tourne to the matter, and let vs lese no moze time.

Fabritio. I am certayne, that to minde to shewe well, howe an armie is prepared, to fight a fielde, it shoulde be necessarie to declare, howe the Grekes, and the Romanes ordeyned the bandes of their armies:  
Notwith



Withstanding, you your selues, being able to read, and to consider those things, by meanes of the aunciente writers, I will passe ouer many particulars: and I will onely bring in those things, which I thinke necessary to imitate, minding at this time, to geue to our exercise of warre, some parte of perfection: The whiche shall make, that in one instante I shall shewe you, howe an armie is prepared to the field, and how it doeth incoun- ter in the verie fight, and how it may be exercised in the fained. The greatest disorder, that they make whiche ordeine an armie to the field, is in giuing the only one fronte, and to binde them to one bzunt and to one soz- tune: the which groweth, of hauing lost the waie, that the antiquitie vsed to receiue one bande within an o- ther because without this waie, they can neither suc- cour the foremost, nor defende them, nor succæde in the fight in their stæde: the whiche of the Romanes, was most excellently well obserued. Therefore, purposing to shewe this waye, I saye, howe that the Romaynes denided into iij. partes euerye Legion, in Vassati, Pzenci- pi, & Triary, of whiche, the Vassati were placed in the first fronte, or soze ward of the armie, with the orders thicke and sure, behinde whom were the Pzenci- pi, but placed with their orders moze thinne: after these, they set the Triary, & with so muche thinnes of orders, that they might, if neede were, receyue betwæne them the Pzenci- pi, and the Vassati. They had besides these, the Slingers, and Crosseboweshoters, & the other light ar- med, y which stode not in these orders, but they placed them in the head of the armie, betwæne the hozes & the other bandes of footemen: therefore these light armed, began the fight, if they ouercame (whiche happened sel- dome times) they followed the victorie: if they were repulced, they retired by the flankes of the armie, or by y spaces ordained for such purposes, & they bzought them selues among the vnarmed: after the departure of

The greatest disorder that is vsed nowv a daies in pi- tching of a fiede..

The order howe a Ro- main Legio vvas apoin- tted to fight

## The thirde Booke of

Whom, the Bassati incountered with the enemye, the which if they saw themselves to be overcome, they retired by a litle, and litle, by the rarenesse of the orders betwene the Principi, and together with those they renewed the fight: if these also were repulced, they retired al in the rarenesse of the orders of the Triartj, & altogether on a heape began againe the fight: and then if they were overcome, there was no moze remedy, because there remained no moze waies to renewe them againe. The hozles stode on the cozners of the armie, to the likenesse of two winges to a body, & some whiles, they fought with y<sup>e</sup> enemies hozles, an other while they rescued y<sup>e</sup> fotemen, according as neede required. This way of renewing the selues thre times, is almost impossible to overcome: soz that, fortune must thre times forsake thee, and the enemye to haue so much strength, that thre times he may overcome thee. The Grekes, had not in their Falangi, this maner of renewing the selues, and although in those were many heades & many orders notwithstanding, they made one body, or els one head: the maner that they kept in rescuing the one the other, was not to retire the one order within the other, as the Romaines, but to enter the one man into the place of the other: the which they did in this maner. Their Falangi brought into rankes, and admit that they put in a ranke fiftie men comming after with their heade, againste the enemye, of all the rankes the foremoste sixe, mighte fight: Because their Launces, the whiche they called Sarisse, were so long, that the sixte ranke passed with the head of their Launces, oute the first ranke: then in fightyng, if any of the first, either through death, or through woundes fell, straight waie there entered into his place, the same man, that was behinde in the seconde ranke, and in the place that remained boide of the seconde, the same man entred, which was behinde hym in the thirde, and thus successiuelye, in a sodaine

the

The maner  
that the  
Grekes vsed  
in their Falangi,  
vwhen they fought  
against their  
enemies.



the rankes behinde, restozed the faultes of those afoze, so that the rankes allwayes remayned whole, and no place of the fighters was boide, except the last rankes, the whiche came to consume, hauing not men behinde their backes, whome might restoze them: So that the hurt that the firste rankes suffered, consumed the last, and the first remayned alwaies whole: and thus these Falangi by their order, might sooner be consumed, then broken, for that the grosse bodye, made it moze immoueable. The Romanes vsed at the beginning the Falangi, and did set in order their Legiōs like vnto them: after, this order pleased them not, and they deuided the Legions into many bodies, that is, in bandes and companies: Because they iudged (as a litle afoze I sayde) that the same bodye, should haue nēde of manye Capitaynes, and that it should be made of sundry partes, so that euery one by it selfe, might be gouerned. The maine battailes of the Swizzers, vse at this present, all the maners of the Falangi, as wel in ordering it grosse, and whole, as in rescuing the one the other: and in pitching the field, they set the maine battailes, the one to the sides of the other: & though they set them the one behinde the other, they haue no waye, y the first retiring it self, maye be receyued of y second, but they vse this order, to the intent to be able to succour the one y other where they put a mayne battaile befoze, & an other behinde the same on the right hand: so that if the first haue nēde of helpe, y then the other may make fozeuarde, & succour it: the thirde maine battaile, they put behinde these, but distant from them, a Harkebus shot: this they do, for that the saide two maine battailes being repulced, this maye make fozeuarde, & haue space for them selues, & for the repulced, & the same that marcheth fozeuward, to auoide the iustling of the one the other: so: as much as a grosse multitude, cannot be receyued as a litle body: & therefore, the litle bodies being destincte,

The order that the Swizzers vse in their maine battailes when they fight.

which

## The third Booke of

which were in a Romaine Legion, might be placed in such wise, that they might receiue betwene them and rescue the one the other. And to proue this order of the Suijzers not to be so good, as the auncient Romaines, many ensamples of the Romain Legions doe declare, when they fought with the Grekes Falangi, where alwaies they were consumed of them: soz that the kinde of their weapons (as I haue saide afoze) & this waie of renning themselues, could do moze, then the massiuenesse of the Falangi. Having theretofore with these ensamples to ordaine an armie, I haue thought good, partly to retaine the maner of arming & the orders of the Grekes Falangi, and partely of the Romain Legions and theretofore I haue saide, that I woulde haue in a maine battaile, two thousand pikes, which be the weapōs of the Macedonick Falangi, and thre thousand Targaettes with sweardes, which be the Romain weapons: I haue deuised the main battaile, into .x. battailes, as the Romaines their Legions: into ten Cohortez: I haue ordered the Meliti. that is the light armed to begin the fight as the Romaines vsed: and like as the weapons being mingled, do participate of thone and of the other nation, so the orders also doe participate: I haue ordered, that euery battaile shall haue v. rankes of Pikes in the fronte, and the rest of Targaettes, to bee able with the fronte, to withstande the hozses, and to enter easily into the battaile of the enemies on foote, hauing in the firste fronte, or barwarde, Pikes, as well as the enemies, the which shall suffice me to withstand them, the Targaettes after to ouercome them. And if you note the vertue of this order you shall see all these weapons, to doe fully their office, soz that the Pikes, bee profitable against the hozses, & when they come against the footemenne, they doe theyr office well, before the fight throug together, because so soone as they presse together, they become vnprofitable: wherefore, the  
Suijzers

How to appointe a maine battaile with armour and weapons & to order the same after the Greeke & Romaine maner.



Switzers to auoide this inconuenience, put after euerye three rankes of Pikes, a ranke of Halberdes, the whiche they do to make room to the Pikes, which is not yet so much as suffiseth. When putting our Pikes afoze, and the Targaettes behinde, they come to withstande the hozses, and in the beginning of the fight, they open the rayes, and molest the footemen: But when the fight is thrust together, and that they become vnprofitable, the Targaettes and swordes succede, which may in euery narrowe place be handled.

Luigi. Wee looke nowe with desire to vnderstande, howe you would ordeyne the armie to fighte the fielde, with these weapons, and with these order.

Fabritio. And I will not nowe shewe you other, then this: you haue to vnderstande, how that in an ordinarie Romane armie, which they call a Consull armie, there were no more, then two Legions of Romane Citizens which were sixe hundred hozse, and about a leuen thousande footemen: they had besides as many more footemen and hozsemen, whiche were sente them from their friendes & confiderates, whome they diuided into two partes, and called the one, the right hozne & the other the left hozne: noz they neuer permitted, that these aiding footemen, should passe the nōber of the footemen of their Legions, they were well contented, that the number of those hozse, should be more then theirs: with this armie, which was of xxij. thousand footemen, & about two thousande good hozse, a Consul executed all affaires, and went to all enterpises: yet when it was needefull to set against a greater force, two Consulles ioyned together with two armies. You ought also to note in especially, that in all the three principall actes, which an armie doth that is, to march, to incampe, and to fight, the Romanes vsed to put their Legions in the middesse, for that they woulde, that the same power, wherein they most trusted, should be moste vnited, as in the reasoning of these

The number of men that was in a Counsulles armie.

Howe the Romanes placed their Legions in the fielde.

## The third Booke of

these three actes, shall be shewed you: those aiding foote men, though the practise they had with the Legion Souldiours, were as profitable as they, because they were instructed, according as the souldiours of the Legions were, and therefore, in like maner in pitching the field, they pitched. Then he that knoweth how the Romaines disposed a Legion in their armie, to fight a field, knoweth how they disposed all: therefore, hauing told you how they deuided a Legion into three bandes, and how the one bande receiued the other, I haue then told you, how al tharmie in a fielde, was ordained. Wherefore, I minding to ordain a field like vnto the Romaines, as they had two Legions, I will take .ij. main battailes, & these being disposed, the disposition of all an armie shall be vnderstode therby: because in ioyning more men, there is no other to be doen, then to ingrosse the orders: I thinke I neede not to rehearse how many men a maine battaile hath, & howe it hath ten battailes, and what heades be in a battaile, and what weapons they haue, and which be the ordinarie Pikes and Meliti, and which the extraordinarie for that a litle a foze I told you it distinctly, and I willed you to kepe it in memoire as a necessarie thing to purpose, to vnderstande all the other orders: and therefore I will come to the demonstration of the order without repeating it any more: We thinke god, that the ten battailes of one main battaile be set on the left flank, and the tenne other, of the other main battaile, on the right: these that are placed on the left flank, be ordained in this maner, there is put five battailes the one to the side of the other in the fronte, after suche sorte, that betwene the one and the other, there remaine a space of three yardes, which come to occupie so large a space. Cvi. yardes, of ground, and so length thirtie: behinde these five battailes, I would put three other distante by right line from the firste, thirtie yardes: two of the whiche, should come behinde

How to order in armie in the fielde to fighte a battaile, according to the minde of the author.



behinde by right line, to the vttermoſte of the ſiue, and the other ſhoulde keepe the ſpace in the middeſt, and ſo theſe thre, ſhall come to occupie for breadth and length, as much ſpace, as the ſiue doth. But where the ſiue haue betwene the one, and the other, a diſtaunce of thre yardes, theſe ſhall haue a diſtaunce of xlv. yardes. After theſe, I woulde place the two laſt battailes, in like manner behinde the thre by right line, and diſtaunte from thoſe thre, thirtie yardes, and I woulde place eche of them, behinde the vttermoſt part of the thre, ſo that the ſpace, which ſhould remayne betwene the one and the other, ſhoulde bee lxviij. yardes: then all theſe battailes thus ordered, will take in breadth Cvi. yardes, and in length CL. The extraordinary Pikes, I woulde deſcende a long the ſlanckes of theſe battailes, on the leſte ſide, diſtaunt from them ſixtene yardes, making Cxliij. rankes, vij. to a ranke, after ſuch ſort, that they may impale with their length, all the leſt ſide of the ten battailes in the ſame wiſe, declared of me to be ordained: & there ſhall remaine fourtie rankes to keepe the carriages, and the vnarmed, which ought to remayne in the taile of the armie, diſtributing the Deticaptaynes, and the Centurions, in their places: and of the thre Conſtables, I woulde place one in the head, the other in the middeſt, the thirde in the laſt ranke, the which ſhoulde execute the office of a Tergiductoze, whome the antiquitie ſo called him, that was appointed to the backe of the armie. But returning to the heade of the armie, I ſaye howe that I woulde place nere to the extraordinary Pikes, the Veliti extraordinary, whiche you knowe to be ſiue hundred, and I woulde giue them a ſpace of xxx. yardes: on the ſide of theſe likewise on the leſte hande, I woulde place the men of armes, and I woulde they ſhoulde haue a ſpace of a Cxij. yardes: after theſe, the light horſemen, to whome I woulde appointe as much grounde to ſtande in, as the men of armes haue: the or-

Howe the extraordinary Pikes be placed in the ſet battaile.

the place where the extraordinary archers and harkabutters, and the men of armes and light horſemen oughte to ſtande when the field is pitched, and goeth to fight the battaile.

## The thirde Booke of

The ordinarie archers and harkbutters are placed about their owne battailes.

The place where the generall head of a maine battaile must stand when the same power of men is appointed to fight.

What men a general capitaine of a maine battaile ought to haue about him.

The place where a general capitaine of all the armie must stand when the battaile is ready to be fought, and what number of chosse men ought to be about him.

dinarie Meliti, I would leaue aboute their owne battailes, who should stande in those spaces, whiche I appointe betwene the one battaile and the other: whome should be as their ministers, if sometime I thought not good to place them vnder the extraordinary Pikes: in doing or not doing wherof, I would procede, according as should tourne best to my purpose. The generall head of all the maine battaile, I would place in y<sup>e</sup> same space that were betwene the first and the second order of the battailes, or els in the head, and in the same space, that is betwene the last battaile of the first sine, and the extraordinary Pikes, according as best should serue my purpose, with thirtie or fourtie chosen men about him, that knewe by prudence, howe to execute a commission, and by force, to withstande a violence, and they to be also betwene the Drumme and the Ansigne: this is thozder with the which I would dispose a maine battaile, which should be the disposing of halfe the armie, and it should take in breadth thre hundred fourescore & two yardes, and in length as much as aboute is saide, not accounting the space that the same part of the extraordinary Pikes will take, which must make a defence for the vnarmed, which will be about. lxxv. yardes: the other maine battaile, I would dispose on the right side, after the same maner iust, as I haue disposed that on the left, leauing betwene the one maine battaile & the other, a space of xxij. yardes: in the head of which space, I would set some litle cariages of artillerie, behinde the which, should stande the generall capitaine of all the armie, & should haue about him with the Trumpeet, and with the Capitaine standerde, two hundred men at the least, chosen to be on foote the most part, amongst which there should be tenne or more, mete to execute all commaundementes, and should be in suche wyse on horsebacke and armed, that they might be on horsebacke, and on foote, according as neede should



Should require. The artillerie of the armie, sufficeth ten Cannons, for the winning of Townes, whose shotte should not passe fiftie pounds: the which in the fild should serue mee moze for defence of the campe, then for to fight the battaile: The other artillerie, should be rather of ten, then of fiftene pounds the shotte: this I would place afoze on the front of all the armie, if some time the countrie should not stande in such wise, that I mighte place it by the flancke in a sure place, where it mighte not of the enemie be in daunger: this fashion of an armie thus ordered, may in fighting, vse the order of the Falangi, and the order of the Romane Legions: for that in the fronte, be Pikes, all the men bee set in the rankes, after such sorte, that incountering with the enemie, and withstanding him, maye after the vse of the Falangi, restore the firste ranckes, with those behinde: on the other parte, if they be charged so soze, that they be constrained to bzeake the orders, and to retire them selues, they maye enter into the voide places of the seconde battailes, which they haue behinde them, & vnite their selues with them, and making a new force, withstande the enemie, and ouercome him: and when this sufficeth not, they may in the verie same maner, retire them selues the seconde time, and the third fight: so that in this order, concerning to fight, there is to renewe them selues, both according to the Greeke maner, and according to the Romane: concerning the strength of the armie, there cannot be ordayned a moze stronger: for as much, as the one & the other hozne therof, is exceedingly well replenished, both with heades, and weapons, nor there remayneth weake, other then the part behinde of the vnarmed, and the same also, hath the flankes impaled with the extraordinary Pikes: nor the enemie can not of anye parte assaulte it, where he shall not finde it well appointed, and the hinder parte can not be assaulted: Because there can not be an enemy, that hath so

How many canons is requisite for an armie, & of vvhath size they ought to be.

VVhere the artillerie ought to be placed vvhether tharmie is reedie to fight.

An armie that vvered ordered as aboue is declared, maie in fighting, vse the Grekes maner, & the Romane fashion.

## The thirde Booke of

much puissance, whome equallye maye assault thee on euerye side : for that hee hauing so great a power, thou oughtest not then to matche thy selfe in the field with him: but when he were thre times moze then thou, and as well appointed as thou, hee doth weaken him selfe in assaulting thee in diuers places, one part that thou beatekest, will cause all the reste go to naughte : concerning hozles, although he chaunce to haue moze then thine, thou needest not feare: for that the orders of the Pikes, which impale thee, defende thee from all violence of them, although thy hozles were repulced. The heades besides this, be disposed in such place, that they may easily com maunde, and obeye: the spaces that be betwene the one battaile, and the other, and betwene the one order, and the other, not onely serue to be able to receyue the one the other, but also to giue place to the messengers, whiche should go and come by order of the Capitayne. And as I tolde you firste, holwe the Romanes had for an armie, aboute foure and twentie thousande men, euen so this oughte to be: and as the other souldiours toke ensample of the Legions, for the maner of fighting, & the fashion of the armie, so those souldiours, whiche you shoulde ioyne to oure two mayne battailes, oughte to take the forme & order of them: whereof hauing put you an ensample, it is an easye matter to imitate it, for that increasing, either two other mayne battailes vnto the armie, or as many other souldiours, as they be, there is no other to be done, then to double the orders, and where was put tenne battailes on the leste parte, to put twentie, either ingrossing, or distending the orders, according as the place, or the enemye shoulde compell thee.

Luigi. Surely sir I imagine in suche wise of this armie, that mee thinkes I now see it, and I burne with a desire to see it incounter, and I woulde for nothing in the worlde, that you shoulde become Fabius Maximus  
[inter-

To what purpose the spaces that be betwene euery bande of men do serue.



intending to kepe the enemy at a baye, and to deferre the day of battaile: because I would saye worse of you, then the Romaine people sayde of him.

Fabritio. Doubt not: Do you not heare the artillery? Ours haue already shot, but litle hurt the enemy: and the extraordinary Meliti, issuing out of their places together with the lighte horsemen, moste speedelye and with moste meruailous furie, and greatest crye that maye be, they assault the enemy: whose artillery hath discharged ones, and hath passed ouer the heades of our footemen, without doing them any hurte, & because it cannot shote the seconde time, the Meliti, & our horsemen, haue nowe gotten it, and the enemies for to defende it, are come soze warde, so that neither oure ordinaunce, nor the enemies, can anye moze do their office. See with howe much vertue, strength and agilitie our men fighteth, and with howe much knowledge through the exercise, which hath made them to abide, and by the confidence, that they haue in the armie, the whiche, see, how with the pace therof, and with the men of armes on the sides, it marcheth in god order, to giue the charge on the aduersarie: See our artillery, whiche to giue them place, and to leaue them the space free, is retired by the same space, from whence the Meliti issued: See how the Capitayn encourageth them, sheweth them the victorie certaine: See how the Meliti and light horsemen be enlarged, and returned on the flankes of the army, to seeke and biew, if they may by the flanke, do anye iniurie to the aduersaries: behold how the armies be affronted. See with howe much valiauntnesse they haue withstoode the violence of the enemies, and with howe much silence, & how the Captayne commaundeth the men of armes, y they sustayn, & not charge, and y they breake not from the order of the footemen: see howe our lighte horsemen be gone, to giue the charge on a bande of the enemies, Harkebutters, which woulde haue hurt oure

The description of a battaile that is a fighting.

## The third Booke of

men by flanke, and how the enemies horse haue succoured them, so that tourned betwene the one & the other horse, they cannot shote, but are faine to retire behind their owne battaile: see with what furie our Pikes doe also affront, and how the footemen be now so nere together the one to the other, that the Pikes can no more be occupied: so y<sup>e</sup> according to the knowledge, learned of vs, our pikes do retire a litle & a litle betwene the targaettes. See how in this while a great bande of men of armes of the enemies, haue charged our men of armes on the lefte side, and how ours, according to knowledge bee retired vnder the extraordinary Pikes, & with the helpe of those giuing againe a fresh charge, haue repulced y<sup>e</sup> aduersaries, & slaine a good part of the: in so much, that the ordinarie pikes of the first battailes, be hidden betwene the rates of the Targaettes, they hauing lefte the sight to the Targaet men: whom you may see, with how much vertue, securitie, and leasure, they kill the enemy: see you not how much by fighting, y<sup>e</sup> orders be thrust together: That they can scarce wield their swords. Beholde with how much furie the enemies moue: because being armed with the pike, and with the sword vnyprofitable (the one for beyng to long, the other for finding the enemy to wel armed) in part they fall hurt or deade, in parte they flie. See they flie on the righte corner, they flie also on the lefte: behold, the victorie is ours. Haue not we wonne a field most happely? But with moze happinesse it should bee wonne, if it were graunted me to put it in acte. And see, how there needed not the helpe of the seconde, nor of the thirde order for our first fronte hath sufficed to euercome them: in this parte, I haue no other to say vnto you, then to resolve if any doubt be growen you.

Luigi. You haue with so much furie wonne this felde, that I so much meruaile and am so affonied, that I beleue that I am not able to expresse, if any  
doubt



doubt remaine in my minde: yet trusting in your prudence, I will be so bolde to tell the same that I vnderstande. Tell mee first, why made you not your ordinaunce to shote moze then ones? And why straightwaye you made them to retire into the armie, noz after made no mention of them? Wee thought also, that you leueled the artillerie of the enemye high, and appointed it after your owne deuise: the which might verye well be, yet when it should happen, as I beleue it chaunceth often, that they strike the rankes, what remedie haue you? And seeing that I haue begun of the artillerie, I will finish all this question, to the intent I neede not to reason thereof anye moze. I haue hearde manye dispraise the armours and the orders of the aunciente armies, arguing, howe nowe a dayes, they can do litle, but rather should bee altogether vnprofitable, hauing respect to the furie of the artillerie: because, this breaketh the orders, and passeth the armours in suche wise, that it seemeth vnto them a folishnesse to make an order, which cannot be kepte, and to take paine to beare a harneis, that cannot defend a man. Fabricio. This question of yours (because it hath many heades) hath neede of a long aunswere. It is true, that I made not the artillerye to shote moze then ones, and also of the same ones, I stode in doubt: the occasion was, soz as muche as it impozteth moze, soz one to take heede not to be strikē, then it impozteth to strike the enemye. You haue to vnderstande, that to purpose that a peece of ordinaunce hurte you not, it is necessary either to stande where it can not retche you, or to get behinde a wall, or behinde a banke: other thing there is not that can withholde it: and it is needefull also, that the one and the other be mozte strong. Those Capitaynes whiche come to fight a fielde, cannot stande behinde a wall, or behinde bankes, noz wher they may not be retched: therfoze it is mæte soz them, seeing they cannot finde a way: to defende thē, so finde some meane.

Questions concerning the shooting of ordinaunce.

An answere to the questions that were demaunded, concerning the shooting the ordinaunce.

## The third Booke of

by the which they maye be least hurte: noꝝ they can not finde any other way, then to pꝛeuent it quickly: the way to pꝛeuent it, is to go to finde it out of hande, and hastely not at leasure and in a heape: foꝝ that thꝛough spꝛeede, the blowe is not suffered to be redoubled, and by the thinnesse, lesse number of men maye bee hurte. This, a bande of men oꝛdered, can not doo: because if the same marche hastely, it groweth out of oꝛder: if it go scattered the enemye shall haue no paine to bꝛeake it, foꝝ that it bꝛeaketh by it selfe: and therefore, I oꝛdered the armie after such soꝛt, that it might do the one thing and the oꝛther: foꝝ as muche as hauing set in the cozners therof, a thousande Meliti, I appointed that after that our oꝛdinaunce had shotte, they shoulde issue out together with the lighte hoꝛsemen, to get the enemies artillerie: and therefore, I made not my oꝛdinaunce to shote againe, to the intente, to giue no time to the enemye to shote: Because space coulde not be giuen to mee, and taken from other men, and foꝝ the same occasion, where I made my oꝛdinaunce not to shote the second time, was foꝝ that I woulde not haue suffered the enemye to haue shotte at all, if I had coulde: seeing that to minde that to the enemies artillerie be vnprofitable, there is no other remedye, but to assault it spꝛedely: foꝝ as muche as if the enemye forsake it, thou takest it, if they will defende it, it is requisite that they leaue it behinde, so that being possessed of enemies, & of friends, it cannot shote. I would helæue, yꝛ without insamples these reasons shoulde suffice you, yet being able to shew old ensamples, to pꝛouemy sayinges true, I will. Ventidio comming to fighte a field with the Parthians, whose strength foꝝ the most part, consisted in bowes and arrowes, he suffered them almost to come harde to his campe, befoꝛe he dꝛew out his armie, the whiche onely he dꝛyd, to be able quicklys to pꝛeuent them: and not to giue them space to shote. Cesar when hee was in Fraunce, maketh mencion, that

The best remedie to auoide the hurt that the enemye in the fielde maie do yvith his oꝛdinaunce.

A policie against bowes and dartes.



That in fighting a battaile with the enemies, hee was with so much furie assaulted of them, that his men had no time to whoyle their dartes, according to the custome of the Romanes: wherfoze it is saine, that to intende, that a thing that shoteeth farre of, being in the fildes, do not hurte thee, there is no other remedie, then with as much celeritie as may be, to pꝛeuent it. An other cause moued mee to pꝛocede, without shooting the ordinaunce whercat peradventure you will laugh: yet I iudge not that it is to be dispaysed. There is nothing that causeth greater confusion in an armie, then to hinder mens fights: wherby many most puissaunt armies haue bene broken, by meanes their sight hath been lettcd, either with dust, or with the Sunne: yet there is nothing, that moze letteth the sighte then the smoke that the artillerie maketh in shooting: herfoze, I would thinke that it were moze wisdome, to suffer the enemy to blinde himselfe, then to purpose (thou being blind) to go to find him: for this cause, either I would not shote, or (for that this should not be pꝛoued, considering the reputation that the artillerie hath) I would place it on the corners of the armie, so y<sup>t</sup> shooting, it should not with the smoke thereof, blinde the fronte of the same, whiche is the importance of my men. And to pꝛoue that it is a profitable thing, to let the sight of the enemy, there maye be brought for ensample Epaminondas, who to blind the enemies armie, whiche came to saighte with hym he caused his light horsemen, to run befoze the fronte of the enemies, to raise by the duske, and to lette their sight, whereby hee gotte the victorie. And where it seemeth vnto you, that I haue guided the shotte of the artillerie, after my owne deuise, making it to passe ouer the heades of my men, I answer you that most oftentimes, and without comparison, the great ordinaunce misse the footemen, muche sooner then hitte them: for that the footemen are so lowe, and those so difficult to

Nothing causeth greater confusion in an armie, then to hinder mens fights. Nothing more blindeeth the sight of men in an armie, then the smoke of ordinaunce.

A policie to trouble the enemies fighte.

The shot of great ordinaunce in the fildes, is not much to be feared of footemen.

## The thirde Booke of

shote, that euery litle that thou raysest them, they passe  
ouer the heades of men: and if they be leueled neuer so  
litle to lowe, they strike in the earth, and the blow com-  
meth not to them: also the vncoueneste of the ground sa-  
ueth them, so that euery litle hillocke, or high place that  
is betwæne the men and the ordinaunce, letteth the  
shotte therof. And cōcerning horsemen, and in especial  
lye men of armes, because they ought to stande moze  
close together, then the light horsemen, and so that they  
are much higher, may the better be stroken, they may,  
vntill the artillerie haue shotte, be kepte in the taile of  
the armie. True it is, that the Harkebutters do muche  
moze hurt, & the fildes peeces, then the great ordinaunce,  
so that the which, the greatest remedie is, to come to hande  
strokes quickly: and if in the first assault, there be slain  
some, alwayes there shall be slaine: but a good Capi-  
taine, and a good armie, ought not to make a cōmpte  
of hurte, that is particular, but of a generall, and to imi-  
tate the Swizzers, whom neuer eschue to fighte, being  
made afraied of the artillerye: but rather punish the with  
death those, which so feare therof, either should go out  
of the ranke, or should make with his body any signe of  
feare. I made the (so soone as they had shotte) to be reti-  
red into the armie, y they might leane the way for  
the battaile: I made no moze mention of them, as of a  
thing vnyprofitable, the fight being begun. You haue also  
sayde, that considering the violence of this instrument,  
manye iudge the armours, and the aunciente orders to  
be to no purpose, and it seemeth by this your talke, that  
men nowe adaiies, haue founde orders and armours,  
whiche are able to defende them against the artillerye:  
if you knowe this, I woulde be glad that you woulde  
teache it me: so that hether to, I neuer sawe anye, nor  
I beleue that there can any be founde: so that I woulde  
vnderstande of suche men, for what cause the Soul-  
diours on foote in these dayes, weare the breastplate, or  
the

Because me  
of armes  
stand closer  
together the  
light horse-  
men, they  
ought to re-  
maine be-  
hind the  
armie till  
the enemies  
ordinaunce  
haue done  
shooting.



the cozſelet of ſtæle, & they on horſebacke go all armed: becauſe ſeing that they blame the auncient arming of men as vnprofitable, conſidering the artillerie, they ought to diſpiſe alſo this: I would vnderſtande mozeouer, ſoꝛ what occaſion the Suiſſers, like vnto the auncient orders, make a battaile cloſe together of ſixe or eight thouſand men, & ſoꝛ what occaſion all other haue imitated them, this order bearing the very ſame perill, concerning the artillerie, that thoſe other ſhould beare, which ſhould imitate y<sup>e</sup> antiquity. I beleue they ſhould not know what to aunſwere: but if you ſhould aſke ſuch Souldiours, as had ſome iudgement, they would aũſwere firſt, that they go armed, ſoꝛ that though the ſame armour defende them not from the artillerie: it defendeth them from croſſebowes, from Pikes, from ſwordes, from ſtaues, and from all other hurt, that cometh from the enemies, they would aũſwere alſo that they went cloſe together like the Suiſſers, to be able moze eaſily to ouerthrow the ſotemen, to be able to withſtand better the horſe, and to geue moze difficultie to the enmie to bzeake them: ſo that it is ſeen, that the ſouldiers haue to feare many other thinges beſides the ordinaunce: frō which thinges, with the armours, and with the orders, they are defended: whereof foloweth, that the better that an armie is armed, and the cloſer that it hath the orders, and ſtronger, ſo much the ſurer it is: ſo that he that is of the ſame opinon, that you ſaie, it behoꝛueth either that he be of ſmale wiſedome, or that in this thyng, he hath ſtudied verie little: ſoꝛ as muche as if we ſæ, that ſo little a parte of the auncient maner of armyng, whiche is vſed now a daies, that is the pike, and ſo little parte of thoſe orders, as are the maine battailes of the Suiſſers doe vs ſo muche good, and cauſe our armies to be ſo ſtrong, why ought not we to beleue, that the other armours, and thother orders whiche are leſte, be profitable: Seyng that if we haue

## The thirde Booke of

no regarde to the artillerie, in putting our selues close together, as y<sup>e</sup> Switzers, what other orders may make vs moze to feare the same? For as much as no order can cause vs so much to feare the same, as those which bying men together. Besides this, if the artillerie of the enemies shoulde not make me afraide, in besieging a Towne, where it hurteth me with moze safegarde, being defended of a wall, I being not able to pzeuent it, but onely with time, with my artillerie to let it, after such sozt that it may double the blowe as it list, why shoulde I feare the same in the fielde, where I may quickly pzeuent it? So that I conclude thus, that the artillerie according to my opinion, doth not let, that the auncient maners can not be vsed, and to shew the auncient vertue: and if I had not talked already with you of this instrument, I woulde of the same, declare vnto you moze at length: but I wyll remit my selfe to that which then I sayde.

The artillerie is no let, why the auncient orders of vvarfare oughte not to be vsed in these daies.

Luigi. Wee may now vnderstande very well, how much you haue about the artillerie discoursed: and in conclusion, me thinkes you haue shewed, that the pzeuenting it quickly, is the greatest remedie that may be had for the same, being in the fielde, and hauing an armie against you. Upon the which there groweth in me a doubt: because me thinkes, that the enemy might place his ordinaunce in such wise in his armie, that it shoulde hurt you, and shoulde be after such sozt garded of the footemen, that it coulde not be pzevented. You haue (if you remember your selfe well) in the ordering of your armie to fight, made distaunces of thre yards, betweene the one battaile and the other, making those distaunces fiftene, which is from the battailes, to the extraordinary pikes: if the enemy shoulde order his armie like vnto yours, and shoulde put the artillerie a good way within those spaces, I beleue that from thence it should hurt you with their most great safegard: because



men cannot enter into the force of their enemies to prevent it. Fabritio. You doubt most prudently, and I will devise with my selfe, either to resolve you the doubt, or shew you the remedye: I haue tolde you, that continually these battailes, either through going, or through fighting, are mowing, & alwayes naturallye, they come to draw harde together, so that if you make y<sup>e</sup> distaunces of a small breadth, where you set the artillerie, in a litle time they be shotte by, after such sorte, that the artillerie cannot any more shote: if you make them large, to auoid this perill, you incurre into a greater, where you through those distaunces, not onelye giue commoditie to the enemye, to take frō you y<sup>e</sup> artillerie, but to bzeake you: but you haue to vnderstande, that it is impossible to keepe the artillerie between the bandes, and in especiallye those which go on carriages: For that the artillerie goeth one waye, and shooteth an other way: So that hauing to go & to shote, it is necessary, befoze they shote, that they tourne, and for to tourne them, they will haue so muche space, that fiftie cartes of artillerie, woulde disorder anye armye: therfoze, it is mæte to keepe them out of the bandes, where they may be ouercome in the maner, as a litle afoze we haue shewed: but admit they might be kept, and that there might be founde a waye betwæne both, and of such conditiō, that the pzeasing together of men should not hinder the artillerie, and were not so open that it should giue way to the enemye, I say that it is remedied most easly, with making distaunces in thy armie against it, which may giue frēe passage to the shotte of those, and so the violence thereof shall come to be vaine, the whiche may be done most easly: for as muche, as the enemye minding to haue his artillerie stand safe, it behoueth that he put them behinde, in the furthest part of the distaunces, so that the shotte of the same, be purposing that they hurt not his owne men, ought to passe by right line, and by that verye same alwaies

## The thirde Booke of

A generall  
rule against  
such thinges  
as cannot be  
withstoode.

Wates: and therfore with giuing them place, easly, they may be auoided: so that this is a generall rule, that to those thinges, which can not be withstoode, there must be giuen way, as the antiquitie made to the Cliphants, and to the carres full of hookes. I beleue, yea, I am more then certayn, that it seemeth vnto you, that I haue ordered and wanted a battaile after my owne maner: notwithstanding, I aunswere vnto you this, when so much as I haue sayde hether to, should not suffice, that it should be impossible, that an armie thus ordered, and armed, should not ouercome at the first incounter, anye other armie that should be ordayned, as they order the armies nowe adayes, whome most often times, make not but one front, hauing no Targaettes, & are in suche wise vnrmed, that they cannot defende them selues from the enemye at hande, & they order them after suche sorte, that if they set their battailes by flanke, the one to the other, they make the armie thinne: if they put the one behinde the other, hauing no waye to receyue the one the other, they do it confusedly, and apte to be easlye troubled: & although they giue thre names to their armies, & deuide them into thre companies, backward, battaile, and rereward, notwithstanding it serueth to no other purpose, then to marche, and to distinguish the lodgings: but in the daie of battaile, they binde them all to the first byunte, and to the first fortune.

Luigi. I haue noted also in the fighting of your fielde, howe your hoysemen were repulced of the enemies hoysemen: for whiche cause they retired to the extraordinary Pikes: where by grewe, that with the aide of them, they withstoode, and drave the enemies backe: I beleue that the Pikes maye withstande the hoyses, as you saye, but in a grosse and thicke mayne battaile, as the Swizzers make: but you in your armie, haue for the heade five ranckes of Pikes, and for the flanke seven, so that I cannot tell howe they maye be



able to withstande them.

Fabritio. Yet I haue tolde you, howe sixe rankes of Pikes were occupied at ones, in the Macedonickall *Falangis*, albeit you oughte to vnderstande, that a mayne battaile of *Suizzers*, if it were made of a thousande rankes, it cannot occupie moze then foure, or at the most five: because the pikes be sixe yardes and thre quarters long, one yarde and a halfe quarter, is occupied of the handes, wherefoze to the first rancke, there remaineth fixē five yardes and a halfe, and a halfe quarter of Pike: the seconde ranke besides that, whiche is occupied with the hande, consumeth a yarde and halfe a quarter in the space, whiche remaineth betwēne the one rancke and the other: so y there is not left of Pike profitable, moze then foure yardes and a halfe: to the third ranke, by this verie same reason, there remaineth thre yardes and a halfe: to the fourth, two yardes and a quarter: to the fiftē one yarde & halfe a quarter: the other rankes, soz to hurte, be vnprofitable, but they serue to restoze these first rankes, as we haue declared, and to be a fortification to those. v. When if five of their rankes can withstande the horse, why can not five of ours withstande them: to the whiche also there lacketh not rankes behinde, that doth sustayne and make them the very same staye, although they haue no Pikes as the other. And when the rankes of the extraordinarye Pikes, whiche are placed on the flankes, should seme vnto you thinne, they maye be brought into a quadzante, and put on the flankē nere the two battailes, which I set in the last company of the army: From the which place, they maye easly altogether succour the front, and the backe of the armie, and minister helpe to the hozses, accozding as nēde shall require.

Luigi. Would you alwates vse this forme of order, when you woulde pitche a fielde?

Fabritio. No in no wise; soz that you ought to varye the

A battaile  
howe great  
so euer it be  
can not at  
ones occupy  
about v. ran  
kes of Pikes

the fashion of the armie, according to the qualitie of the situation, and the condition and quantitie of the enemy as befoze this reasoning do ende, shall bee shewed certayne ensamples: but this forme is giuen vnto you, not so much as most strongest of al, where in dede it is be-  
 ry strong, as to the intent that thereby you may take a rule, and an order to learne to knowe the wayes to ordayne the other: for as muche, as euery science hath his generalitie, vpon the which a good part of it is grounded. One thing onely I advise you, that you neuer order an armie, after such sorte, that those that fight afoze, cannot bee succoured of them, which bee set behinde: because he that committeth this error, maketh the greatest part of his armie to bee vnprofitable, and if it incounter any strength, it can not ouercome.

An aduertisement concerning the pitching of a fildes.

Luigi. There is growen in mee, vpon this parte a doubt. I haue scene that in the placing of the battailes, you make the fronte of five on a side, the middest of three, and the last partes of two; and I beleue, that it were better to ordayne them contrarywise: for that I thinke, that an armie shoulde with moze difficultie be broken, when he that shoulde charge vpon it, the moze that he shoulde enter into the same, so much the stronger he shoulde finde it: and the order deuised of you, mee thinkes maketh, that y moze it is entered into, so much the weaker it is founde.

Fabritio If you should remember how to the Triarii, whome were the thirde order of the Romane Legions, there were not assigned moze then sixe hundred men, you woulde doubtlesse, hauing vnderstode howe they were placed in the last companye: For that you shoulde see, how I, moued of this ensample, haue placed in the last companye two battailes, whiche are nine hundred men, so that I come rather (following the ensample of the Romane people) to erre, for hauing taken to manie, then to fewe: and although this ensam-  
 ple



ple shoulde suffice, I will tell you the reason, the which is this. The first front of the armie, is made perfectly whole and thicke, because it must withstande the bzunt of the enemies, and it hath not to receiue in it any of their fellowes: and for this, it is fit that it bee full of men: because a few men shoulde make it weak, either for thinnesse, or for lacke of sufficient number: but the seconde companie for as much as it must first receyue their friendes, to sustaine the enemy, it is meete that it haue great spaces, and for this it behoueth that it bee of lesse number then the first: for that if it were of greater number, or equall, it shoulde bee conuenient either not to leaue the distaunces, the which shoulde be disorder, or leauing them, to passe the boundes of those afoze, the which shoulde make the fashion of the armie vnperfect: and it is not true that you say, that the enemy the more that he entereth into the maine battaile, so much the weaker he findeth it: for that the enemy can neuer fight with the seconde order, except the first bee ioyned with the same: so that he commeth to finde the middest of the maine battaile more stronger, and not more weaker, hauyng to fight with the first, and with the seconde order altogether: the very same happeneth when the enemy shoulde come to the thirde companie: for that there not with two battailes, whiche is founde freshe, but with all the maine battaile he must fight: and for that this last part hath to receyue moste men, the spaces thereof is requisite to be greatest, and that which receyueth them, to be the least number.

Luigi. It pleaseth mee the same that you haue tolde: but answer me also this: If the five first battailes do retire betwene the thre seconde battailes, and after the eight betwene the two thirde, it seemeth not possible, that the eight being brought together, and then the tenne together, maye bee receyued when they bee eight, or when they bee tenne in the verye same space,

D. J.

which

Hovve the front of the armie ought to be made.

Hovve the middel part of the armie ought to be ordered.

The ordering of the hinder parte of the armie

## The third Booke of

which receyued the five.

Fabritio. The first thing that I aunswere is, that it is not the very same space: for that y<sup>e</sup> five haue foure spaces in the middell, which retiring betwene thre, or betwene the two, they occupie: then there remaineth the same space, that is betwene the one maine battaile and the other, and the same that is, betwene the battailes, and the extraoordinarie Pikes, all the whiche spaces makes largenesse: besides this, it is to be considered, that the battailes keepe other maner of spaces, when they be in the orders without being altered, then when they be altered: for that in the alteration: either they throng together, or they enlarge the orders: they enlarge them: when they feare so muche, that they fall to flying, they thrust them together, when they feare in such wise, that they seeke to saue them selues, not with running away, but with defence: So that in this case, they shoulde come to be distinguished, and not to be enlarged. Moreover, the five ranks of the Pikes, that are before, so soone as they haue begun the fight, they ought betwene their battailes to retire, into the taile of the armie, for to giue place to the Targaet men, that they maye fight: and they going into the taile of the armie, may do such seruice as the Capitayn should iudge, were good to occupie them about, where in the foeward, the fight being mingled, they should otherwise be altogether vnprofitable. And for this y<sup>e</sup> spaces ordayned, come to be for the remnaunt of the men, wide enough to receyue thir: yet when these spaces should not suffice, the flankes on the sides be men, and not walles, whome giuing place, and enlarging them selues, may make the space to contayne so much, that it may be sufficient to receyue them.

The retire of  
the Pikes,  
to place the  
Targaet me.

Luigi. The rankes of the extraoordinarie Pikes, whiche you place on the flankes of the armie, when the first battailes retire into the second, will you haue them



them to stande still, and remaine with two hornes to the armie: Or will you that they also retire together, with the battailes: The which when they shoulde do, I see not how they can, hauing no battailes behinde with distaunces that may receyue them.

Fabritio. If the enemye overcome them not, when he inforceth the battailes to retire, they may stande still in their order, and hurt the enemye on the flankes, after that the first battailes were retired: but if he should also overcome them, as seemeth reason, being so puissance, y<sup>e</sup> he is able to repulce y<sup>e</sup> other, they also ought to retire: which they may do excellently well, although they haue not behinde, any to receyue th<sup>e</sup>: because from the midst, they may redouble by right line, entering the one ranke into the other, in the maner wherof we reasoned when it was spoken of the other of redoubling: True it is, that to minderedoubling to retire backe, it behoueth to take an other way, then the same that I shewed you: for that I tolde you, that the second ranke, ought to enter into the first, the fourth into the thirde, and so forth: in this case, they ought not to begin before, but behinde, so that redoubling the rankes, they may come to retire backwarde, not to tourne forward: but to aunswere to all the same, that vpon this foughten fielde by mee shewed, might of you bee replied, I say vnto you again, that I haue ordayned you this armie, and shewed this foughten field for two causes, the one for to declare vnto you how it is ordered, the other to shewe you how it is exercised: the order, I beleue you vnderstande most well: and concerning the exercise, I saye vnto you, that they ought to be put together in this forme, as often times as may be: for as much as the heades learne thereby, to keepe their battailes in these orders: for y<sup>e</sup> to particular souldiours, it appertayneth to keepe well the orders of euery battaile, to the heades of the battails, it appertayneth to keepe them well in euery order of

Howe the pikes that are placed on the flankes of the armie ought to gouerne themselves vwhen the rest of the armie is driuen to retire.

The exercise of the armie in generall.

## The third Booke of

the armie, and that they knowe howe to obey, at the commaundement of the generall capitaine: therefore it is conuenient that they knowe, howe to ioyne the one battaile with the other, that they may knowe howe to take their place at once: and for this cause it is meete that the ansigne of euery battaile haue witten in some eident part, the number thereof: as well for to be able to commaunde them, as also for that the capitaine, and the souldiours by the same number, may moze easlye knowe them againe: also the maine battailes ought to be nombred, and to haue the number in their pzincipall ansigne: Therefore it is requisite, to knowe of what number the maine battaile shall be, that is placed on the left, or on the right horne, of what numbers the battailes bee, that are set in the front, and in the middelt, and so forth of the other. The antiquitie woulde also, that these numbers shoulde be steppes to degrees of honours of the armies: as for ensample, the first degree is the Deticaptaine, the seconde the head of fiftie ordinary Ueliti, the thirde the Centurion, the fourth the head of the first battaile, the fift of the seconde, the sixt of the thirde, and so forth, even to the tenth battaile, the which must be honoured in the seconde place, next the generall capitaine of a maine battaile: nor auye ought to come to the same head, if first he haue not risen by by all these degrees. And because besides these heades, there be three Conestables of the extraoordinarie Pikes, and two of the extraoordinarie Ueliti, I woulde that they shoulde be in the same degree of the Constable of the first battaile: nor I woulde not care, that there were sixe men of like degree, to the entent that euery one of them might striue who shoulde do best, for to be promised to be head of the second battaile. When euery one of these heades, knowing in what place his battaile ought to be set in, of necessitie it must follow, that at a sounde of the Trumpet, so soone as the head standarde shall be erected,

The nōber that is mete to be vwrite in the Ansigne of euerie band of men.

The degrees of honours in an armie, vvhich such a man ought to rise by, as shoulde bee made a generall Capitaine.



erected, all the armie shall be in their places: and this is the first exercise, whereunto an armie ought to be accustomed, that is, to set them quickly together: and to do this, it is requisite every day, and diuers times in one day, to set them in order, and to disorder them.

Luigi. What armes woulde you that the Ansignes of all the armie, should haue besides the number?

Fabritio. The standarde of the generall Capitayne ought to haue the armes of the Prince of the armie, all the other may haue the very same armes, and to varie with the fieldes, or to varie with the armes, as should seeme best to the Lord of the armie: Because this importeth little, so that the effect grow, that they be knowe the one from the other. But let vs passe to the other exercise: the which is to make them to moue, and with a conuenient pace to marche, and to see that marching, they keepe the orders. The thirde exercise is, that they learne to handle them selues in the same maner, which they ought after to handle them selues in the day of battaile, to cause the artillerie to shote, & to be drawen out of the way, to make the extraordinary Meliti to issue out, after a likenesse of an assault, to retire them: To make that the firste battailes as though they were soze charged, retire into the spaces of the seconde, & after, all into the thirde, and from thence, every one to returne to his place: and in such wise to vse them in this exercise, that to every man, all thing may be knowen, and familiar: the which with practise, and with familiaritie, is brought to passe most quickly. The fourth exercise is, that they learne to knowe by meane of the sounde, and of the Ansigne, the commaundement of their Capitayn for as much as that, which shall be to them pronounced by voice, they without other commaundemēt, may vnderstande: & because the importaunce of this commaundement, ought to growe of the sounde. I shall tell you what soundes the antiquitie vsed. Of the Lacedemo-

The armes that oughte to be in the standard, and in the Ansignes of an armie.

The seconde & third exercise of an armie.

The fourth exercise of an armie.

nians,

## The thirde Booke of

The sounds  
of the instru-  
mentes of  
musicke, that  
the antiqui-  
tie vsed in  
their armie

nians, according as Lucido affirmeth, in their armie  
were vsed flutes: for that they indged, that this armo-  
nic, was most meete to make their armie to procede  
with grauetie, and with surie: the Carthaginens being  
moued by this very same reason, in the first assaulte,  
vsed the violone. Aliatte king of the Lidians, vsed in the  
warre the violone, and the flutes: but Alexander Mag-  
nus, and the Romanes, vsed hoznes and Trumppettes,  
as they, that thought by vertue of suche instrumentes,  
to be able to incourage moze the mindes of Souldiours  
and make them to fight the moze lustelye: but as we  
haue in arming the armie, take of the Greeke maner, &  
of the Romane, so in distributing the soundes, we will  
keepe the customes of the one, and of the other nation:  
therfoze, nere the generall Capitayne, I woulde make  
the Trompettes (to stande, as a sounde not onely apte  
to inflame the armie, but apte to be hearde in all the  
whole tumulte moze then anye other sounde: all the o-  
ther soundes, which should be about the Centestables,  
and the heades of maine battailes, I woulde that they  
should be small Drummes, and flutes, sounded, not  
as they sounde them now, but as they vse to sounde  
them at feastes. The Capitayns then with the Trom-  
pet, should shewe when they muste stande still, and go  
forwarde, or tourne backwarde, when the artillerie  
must shote, when the extraoordinarie Meliti must moue  
and with the varietie or distinction of suche soundes, to  
shewe vnto the armie all those motions, whiche gene-  
rally may be shewed, the which Trompettes, should be  
after folowed of the Drummes, and in this exercise, be-  
cause it impoerteth muche, it behoueth much to exercise  
the armie. Concerning the hozsemen, there woulde be  
vsed likewise Trompettes, but of a lesse sounde, and of  
a diuers voice from those of the Capitayne. This is as  
much as is come into my remembraunce, aboute the  
order of the armie, and of the exercise of the same.

What is si-  
gnified by  
the sounde  
of the Trom-  
pet.

Luigi.



Luigi. I praye you let it not be græuous vnto you to declare vnto mee an other thing, that is, for what cause you made the light hoysesmen, and the extraordinarye Meliti, to go with cries, rumours, and furie, when they gaue the charge? And after in the incountering of the rest of the armie, you showed, that the thing followed with a most great scilence: And for that I vnderstande not the occasion of this varietie, I would desire that you would declare it vnto mee.

Fabritio. The opinion of auncient capitaines, hath bene diuers about the comming to handes, whether they ought with rumour to go a pace, or with scilence to go faire & softly: this last waye, serueth to keepe the order moze sure, and to vnderstande, better the commaundements of the Capitayn: the first, serueth to incourage moze the mindes of men: and for that I beleue, that respect ought to be had to the one, & to the other of these two thinges, I made the one go with rumour, and the other with scilence: noz me thinks not in any wise, that the continuall rumours be to purpose: because they let the commaundementes, the which is a thing most pernicious: noz it standeth not with reason, y the Romanes vsed, except at the first assault to make rumour: for that in their histoziies, is seene manye times to haue happened, that through the wordes, and comfortinges of the Capitayn, the Souldiours that ran awaye, were made to stande to it, and in sundry wise by his commaundement, to haue varied the orders, the which should not haue followed, if the rumours had bene louder then his voyce.

The cries, & rumours, vvhenn vwith the first charge is giuen vnto the enemies, & the scilence that ought to be vsed after, vvhenn the fight is once begunne.



The fourth booke of the arte of warre,  
of Nicholas Machiavel, Citezen and Secretarie  
of Florence, vnto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.  
(2.)

Luigi.



Eeing that vnder my gouernement, a fielde hath béene won so honourablye, I suppose that it is good, that I tempt not fortune any moze, knowing how variable, and vnstable she is: and therfore, I desire to giue vp my gouernement, and that Zanobi do execute nowe this office of demaunding, mindoing to followe the order, whiche concerneth the youngest: and I knowe he will not refuse this honour, or as we would say, this labour, as well for to do méé pleasure, as also for being naturally of moze stomacke then I: no; it shall not make him afrayed, to haue to enter into these trauailes, where he may be as well ouercome, as able to conquere.

Zanobi. I am readie to do what soeuer shall please you to appointe méé, although that I desire moze willingly to heare: for as much as hetherto, your questions haue satisfied méé moze, then those shoulde haue pleased méé, whiche in harkening to your reasoning, hath chaunced to come into my remembzaunce. But sir, I beléene that it is god, that you léese no time, & that you haue pacience, if with these our Ceremonies wé trouble you.

Fabritio. You do méé rather pleasure, for that this variacion of demaunders, maketh méé to knowe the sundrie



sundry wittes, and sundry appetites of yours: But remaineth there any thing, which seemeth vnto you good, to be ioyned to the matter, that already hath bene reasoned of?

Zanobi. Two thinges I desire, befoze you passe to an other part: the one is, to haue you to shewe, if in ordering armies, there nedeth to be vsed any other fashio, the other, what respectes a Captayne ought to haue, befoze he conduct his men to the fight, and in the same any accident rising or growing, what reamedy may be had.

Fabritio. I will inforce my selfe to satisfie you, I will not aunswere nowe distinctly to your questiōs: for that whilest I shall aunswere to one, manye tymes it will come to passe, that I must aunswere to another. I haue tolde you, howe I haue shewed you a fashion of an army, to the intent, that accozding to the same, there may be giuen all those fashions, that the enemye, & the situation requireth: For as much as in this case, both accozding to the power therof, and accozding to the enemye, it pzoceedeth: but note this, that there is not a moze perillous fashion, then to defende muche the front of the armie, if then thou haue not a most puissant, and most great host: otherwise, thou cughtest to make it rather grosse, and of small largenesse then of muche largenes, and thinne: for when thou hast fewe men in comparison to y enemye, thou oughtest to seeke other remedies, as is to ordaine thine army in such a place, where thou maifest be fortified, either thzough riuers, or by means of fennes, after such sort, that thou canst not be compassed about, or to inclose thy selfe on the flankes with ditches, as Cesar did in France.

You haue to take in this case, this generall rule, to enlarge your selfe, or to drawe in your selfe with the front, accozding to your number, and the same of the enemye.

For the enemies being of lesse number, thou oughtest to seeke large places, hauing in especiallye thy men

To defende much the fronte of an armie, is most perillous.

What is best for a capitain to do where his power is muche lesse then the enemies power. A general rule.

## The fourth Booke

well instructed : to the intent thou maiest , not onely compasse about the enemye but to descende thy orders: for that in places rough and difficulte, being not able to pzeuaile of thy orders, thou comcest not to haue anye aduantage, hereby grewe, that the Romaines almoste alwayes, soughte the open fieldes, and aduoyced the straightes. To the contrarye, as I haue said, thou oughtest to do, if thou hast fewe men, or ill instructed: for that then thou oughtest to seeke places, either where the little number maye be saued, and where the small experience do not hurt thee: Thou oughtest also to chuse the higher grounde, to be able moze easely to infeste them: notwithstanding, this aduertismēt ought to be had, not to ordayne thy army, where the enemye may spie what thou doest, and in place neere to the routes of the same, where the enemies army may come: For that in this case, hauing respect vnto the artillerie, the higher place shall get thee disaduantage: Because that alwaies and commodiously, thou mightest of the enemies artillerye bee hurt, without being able to make any remedye, and thou couldest not commodiously hurt the same, being hindered by thine owne men. Also, he that prepareth an armie to fight a battaile, ought to haue respect, both to the Sunne, and to the Winde, that the one and the other do not hurt the fronte, for that the one & the other, will let thee the sight, the one with the beames, & the other with the dust: and mozeouer, the Winde hindereth the weapons, which are stroken at the enemye, and maketh their blowes moze feable: and concerning the Sunne, if sufficeth not to haue care, that at the firste it shine not in the face, but it is requisite to consider, that in creasing the daye, it hurte thee not: and for this, it shoulde bee requisite in orderyng the men, to haue it all on the backe, to the entent it shoulde haue to passe muche time, to come to lye on the fronte. This waye was obserued of Aniball at Canne, and of Mario against

The higher grounde ought to be chosen.

An aduertisement not to place an armie, vther the enemye maie see what the same doth.

Respectes for the Sun and VVinde



against the Cimbrians. If thou happen to be muche inferior of hozles, ordayne thine army amongst vines and fræ, and like impedimentes, as in our time the Spaniards did, when they ouerthelwe the Frenche men at Cirignuola. And it hath bene sene many times with all one Souldiours, varying onely the order, and the place, that they haue become of losers victozers as it happened to the Carthageners, whom hauing bene overcome of Marcus Regulus diuers times, were after by the counsell of Santippo, a Lacedemonian, victorious: whom made them to go downe into the playne, where by vertue of the hozles, and of Cliphantes, they were able to overcome the Romaynes. It sêmes vnto mæ, according to the auncient insamples, that almoste all the excellent Capitaines, when they haue knowen, that the enemye hath made strong one side of his battaile, they haue not set againste it, the moste stronge part, but the most weake, and the other most strongest, they haue set againste the most weake: after in the beginning the fight, they haue commanded to their strongest parte, that onely they sustaine the enemye, & not to pzeace vpon him, & to the weaker, that they suffer the selues to be overcome, & to retire into the hindermoste hands of the army. This byeadeth two great disorders to the enemye: the firste, that he findeth his strongest parte compassed about, the seconde is, that sêming vnto him to haue the victozye, seldome times it happeneth, that they disorder not them selues, wherof groweth his sodain losse. Cornelius Scipio being in Spaine, against Asdubal of Carthage, and vnderstanding howe to Asdubal it was knowen, that hee in the ordering the armye, placed his Legions in the middle, the whiche was the strongest parte of his armye, and for this how Asdubal with like order oughte to pzoceede: after when he came to fighte the battaile, hee chaunged order, and put his Legions on the hoznes of the armye,

The varyg of order and place maye cause the cōquered to become victorious.

A policie in the ordering of men and pitching of a fild.

## The fourth Booke

and in the middell, placed all his weakest men: then coming to the handes, in a sodaine those men placed in the middell, he made to marche softly, and the hoznes of the army, with celeritie to make forwarde, so that onely the hoznes of both the armies fought, and the bands in the middell, though being disfaunt the one from the other, ioyned not together, and thus the strongest parte of Scipio, came to fight with the weakest of Asdubal, and ouercame him. The which waye was then profitable, but nowe hauing respect to the artillerie, it cannot be vsed: because the same space, which should remayne in the middell, betwene the one armie and the other, should giue time to the same to shote: The which is most pernicious, as aboue is saide: Therfore it is requisite to lay this waye aside, and to vse, as a litle afoze we sayde, making all the army to incounter, & the weakest parte to giue place.

How to passe aboute the enemies powver.

When a capitayne perceyueth, that he hath a greater armie then his enemy, minding to compasse him about, befoze he be aware, let him ordayne his fronte equall, to the same of his aduersaries, after, so soone as y fight is begun, let him make y fronte by a litle & litle to retire, and the flankes to defende, and alwaies it shall happen, that the enemy shall finde him selfe, befoze he be aware compassed about.

How a Capitaine may fight and be as it were sure, not to be ouercom.

When a Capitaine will fight, as it were sure not to be hoked, let him ordayne his army in place, where hee hath refuge nere, & safe, either betwene fenes or betwene hilles, or by some strong Citie: for y in this case, he cannot be followed of the enemy, where the enemy may be pursued of him: this poynte was vsed of Anibal, when fortune began to become his aduersarie, and that he doubted of the valiauntnesse of Marcello. Some to trouble the orders of the enemy, haue commaunded those that were light armed, to begin the fight, and that being begunne, to retire betwene the orders: and when the armies were after buckled together, and that the fronte

of either



of either of them were occupied in fighting, they haue made them to issue out by the flankes of the battaile, and the same haue troubled and broken. If any perceyue himselfe to be inferiour of horse, he maye besides the wayes that are alreadye shewed, place behinde his horsemen a battaile of Pikes, and in fighting take order, that they giue waye to the Pikes, and he shall remaine alwaies superiour. Many haue accustomed to vse certayne footemen light armed, to fight among horsemen, the which hath bene to the chivalry most great helpe. Of all those, which haue prepared armies to the felde, be mosse praised Anibal and Scipio, when they sought in Affricke; and for that Aniball had his armye made of Carthaginers, and of straungers of diuers nations, he placed in the first fronte therof. lxxx. Elephan-tes, after he placed the straungers, behinde whom he set his Carthaginers, in the hindermost place, he put the Italians, in whome he trusted litle: the whiche thing hee ordayned so, for that the straungers hauing before them the enemye, and behinde being inclosed of his me, coulde not flye: so that being constrained to fight they shoulde ouercome, or wearye the Romaines, supposing after with his fresh and valiaunt men, to be then able easely to ouercome the Romanes, being wearied. Against this order, Scipio set the Astati, & Prencipi, & the Triarij, in the accustomed maner, to be able to receyue the one the other, and to rescue the one the other: he made the fronte of the armie, full of voide spaces, and because it shoulde not be perceyued, but rather should seme vni- ted, he filled them full of Meliti, to whome he comman- ded, that so soone as the Elephan-tes came, they shoulde auoyde, and by the ordinarye spaces, should enter be- twene the Legins, and leaue open the way to the Ele- phantes, and so it came to passe, that it made vaine the violence of them, so that coming to handes, he was su- perior.

v what a ca- pitaine ou- ghte to doe v when hee hath not so many horse- men as the enemye. A great aide for horseme.

The policies vsed betwve- ne Aniball and Scipio.

## The fourth Booke of

Zanobi. You haue made mee to remember, in al-  
ledging mee this battaile, howe Scipio in fighting, made  
not Aftati to retire into the orders of the Pzenciipi, but  
he deuided them, and made them to retire in the hoznes  
of the armye, to the intent they mighte giue place to the  
Pzenciipi, when he woulde force forwarde: therefore I  
woulde you should tell mee, what occasion moued him,  
not to obserue the accustomed order.

Fabricio. I will tell you. Anibal had put all the  
strength of his army, in the seconde bande: wherefoze  
Scipio for to set against the same like strength, gathered  
the Pzenciipi and the Triarij together: So that the di-  
stances of the Pzenciipi, being occupied of the Triarij,  
there was no place to be able to receyue the Aftati: and  
therfoze he made the Aftati to deuide, and to go in the  
hoznes of the armye, and he dyuide them not betwene  
the Pzenciipi. But note, that this waye of opening the  
first bande, for to giue place to the seconde, cannot be  
vsed, but whē a man is superiour to his enemye: for that  
then there is commoditie to be able to do it, as Scipio  
was able: but being vnder, and repulced, it can not be  
done, but with thy manifest ruine: and therfoze it is cō-  
uenient to haue behinde, orders that may receyue thee,  
but let vs tourne to our reasoning. The auncient Asia-  
ticans, amongst other things deuised of them to hurt  
the enemies, vsed cartes. The which had on y sides cer-  
taine hookes, so that not onely they serued to open with  
their violence the bādes, but also to kill with the hookes  
the aduersaries: against the violēce of those, in thze ma-  
ners they prouided, either they sustained them with the  
thickenesse of the rates, or they receyued them betwene  
the bandes, as the Cliphātes were receyued, or els they  
made with arte some strong resistance: As Silla a Ro-  
mayne made against Archelaus, whome had manye of  
these cartes, whiche they called hooked, who for to su-  
staine them, drew manye stakes into the grounde, be-  
hinde

Cartes full  
of hookes  
made to de-  
stroye the e-  
mies.

The remee-  
die that vvas  
vsed against  
Cartes full  
of hookes.



hinde his first bandes of men, whereby the Cartes being stopped, lost their violence. And the newe maner that Sulla vsed against him in ordering the armie, is to be noted: for that he put the Veliti, & the horse behinde, and al the heauie armed afoze, leaving many distaunces to be able to sende before those behinde, when necessitie required: whereby the fight being begun, with the horsemen, to the which he gaue the way, he got the victorie. To entende to trouble in the fight the enemies armie, it is conuenient to make something to growe, that maye make them afraide, either with showing of newe helpe that cometh, or with showing thinges whiche may represent a terrour vnto them: after suche sort, that the enemies beguiled of that sight, maye bee afraide, and being made afraide, they may easlye be overcome: the which wayes Minutio Rufo vsed, and Accilio Glabrione, Consuls of Rome. Caius Sulpitius also set a great many of Sackes vppon Pules, and other beastes vnpredictable for the warre, but in suche wise ordayned, that they seemed men of armes, and he commaunded, that they shoulde appeare vppon a Hill, while he were a fighting with the Frenchemen, whereby grewe his victorie. The very same did Marius when he fought against the Dutchemen. When the fayned assaultes anayling much, whilest the fight continueth, it is conuenient that the very assaultes in deede do helpe much, inesppecially if at vnwares in the midst of the fight the enemy might bee assaulted behinde, or on the side: the whiche hardely may be done if the countrey helpe thee not: for that when it is open, part of thy men can not bee hidde, as is meete to be doen in like enterprises: but in woddie or hyllic places, and for this apte for ambushes, parte of thy men maye be well hidden, to be able in a sodaine, & contrary to y enemies opinion to assault him. which thing alwaies shall be occasion to giue thee the victorie. It hath bene some time

The straunge maner that Sulla vsed in ordering his army against Archelus.

howv to trouble in the fight the armie of the enemies.

A policie of Caius Sulpitius, to make his enemies afraied

A policie of marius against the Dutchmen.

## The fourth Booke of

A policie of  
great impor  
tance, vvhile  
a battaile is  
a fighting.

Hovv horse-  
men may be  
disordered.

Hovve the  
turcke gaue  
the Sophie  
an ouer-  
throwe.

Hovv the  
Spaniards  
ouercame  
the armie of  
Amilcar.

Hovve to  
traîne the e-  
mie, to his  
destruction.

A policie of  
Tullo Ho-  
stilio & Lu-  
cius Silla in  
dessembling  
of a mis-  
chaunce.

time of great importauice, whilest the fight continueth to solwe voices, which do pronounce the Capitayne of the enemies to be dead, or to haue overcome on the other side of the armye: the which many times to them that haue vsed it, hath giuen the victoꝛye. The chieualrye of the enemies may be easely troubled, either with sightes, or with rumours, not vsed: as Creso did, whome putte Camelles againste the hozses of the aduersaries, and Pirrus set againste the Romayne hozsemen Cliphantes, the sight of which troubled & disordered them. In our time, the Turcke discomfited the Sophi in Persia, and the Soldane in Surria with no other, then with the noise of Yarkabales, the which in such wise, with their straunge rumours, disturbed the hozses of those, that the Turcke might easely overcome them: The Spainiards to overcome the armie of Amilcar, put in the first front Cartes full of Towe, drawn of oxen, and comming to handes, they kindeled fire to the same, wherfoze the oxen to flie frō the fire, thrust into the armie of Amilcar, and opened it.

They are wonte (as we haue said) to beguile the enemy in the fight, drawing him into their ambushes, where the Countrie is commodious for the same purpose, but where it were open and large, many haue vsed to make ditches, and after haue couered them lightly with bowes and yearth, & lefte certayn spaces whole to be able betwene those to retire: after, so soone as the fight hath bene begun, retiring by those, and the enemy following them, hath fallen in the pittes. If in the fight there happen the, any accidēt that may feare thy soul-dours, it is a most prudente thing, to know how to dessemble it, and to peruert it to good, as Tullo Hostilio did, and Lucius Silla: whom seing while they fought, howe a part of his men were gone to the enemies side, and how the same thing had verie much made afrayed his men, he made straight waye throughout all the ar-



armie to be vnderſtoode, holwe all thing proceeded, according to his order: the which not onely did not trouble the army, but it increased in them so much stomacke, that he remayned victorizous. It happened also to Silla, that hauing sente certayne souldiours to do some businesse, and they being slain he sayde, to the intent his armie shoulde not bee made afraied thereby, that he had with craft sent them into the handes of the enemies, for that he had found them nothing faithfull. Sertorius fighting a battaile in Spaine, slue one, whom he signified vnto him the death of one of his Capitaynes, for feare that telling the verye same to other, he should make the afraied. It is a most difficult thing, an army being now moued to flye, to staie it, and make it to fight. And you haue to make this distinction: either that it is all moued and then to be impossible to tourne it, or there is moued a parte thereof, and then there is some remedye. Many Romane Capitaines, with making afoze those which fled, haue caused them to staie, making them ashamed of running away, as Lucius Silla did, where already part of his Legions being tourned to flight, oueruen away by the men of Mithridates, he made afoze the with a sword in his hande crying: if any aske you, where you left your capitayne, saye, we haue left him in Boecia, where he fighteth. Attilius a consull set against those that ran away, them that ran not away, & made them to vnderſtade, that if they would not tourne, they shoulde be slaine of their friendes, & of their enemies. Philip of Macedo. vnderſtading how his men feared the Scythian Souldiours, placed behinde his armye, certayne of his most trustie horsemen, and gaue commission to them, that they should kill whom soeuer fled: wherfoze, his men minding rather to dye fighting, then flying, ouercame. Many Romaines, not so much to stay a flight, as for to giue occasion to their men, to make greater foze, haue whilest they haue foughte, ta-

Sertorius slue a man for telling him of the death of one of his capitaines.

How certayne capitaines haue staied their men that hath bene ruing a vvaie.

Attilius constrained his men that ran a vvaie to tourne againe and to fight.

How Philip king of Macedonia made his men afraied to ruing a vvaie.

## The fourth Book of the

victorie ought  
with all  
celeritic to  
be followed

vvhhat a Cap-  
tain ought  
to do, vvhhen  
he shoulde  
chaunce to  
receaue an  
ouerthrow.

Howe Mar-  
cius ouer-  
came the ar-  
mie of the  
Carthagin.

ken an Ansigne out of their owne mens handes, & thowen it amongst the enemies, & appointed rewardes to him that coulde get it again. I do not beleue that it is out of purpose, to ioyne to this reasoning those things which chaunce after the fight, in especially being brief things, and not to be left behinde, and to this reasoning conforzable inough. Therefore I say, how the field is losse, or els wonne: when it is wone, the victorie ought with all celerity to be followed, and in this case to imitate Cæsar, and not Anibal, whome staying after that he had discomfited the Rom. at Canne, lost the empire of Rome: The other neuer rested after the victorie, but followed the enemy being broken, with greater violence and furye, then when he assaulted him whole: but when a Capitayn doth leese, hee ought to seee if of the losse there may growe any vtilitie vnto him, in especially if there remayne any residue of the army. The commoditie maye growe of the small aduertisement of the enemye, whom most often times after the victorie, becommeth negligent, and giueth the occasion to oppresse him, as Marcius a Romayne oppressed the army of the Carthaginers, whome hauing slain the two Scipions, and broken their armye, not esteeming the same remnaunt of men, which with Marcius remained a liue, were of him assaulted and ouerthrowen: for that it is seen, that there is no thing so muche to be brought to passe, as the same which the enemy thinketh, that thou canst not attempt because for the most parte, men be hurte most, where they doubt least: therefore a Capitayn ought when hee cannot do this, to deuise at least with diligẽce, that the losse be lesse hurtfull: to do this, it is necessarye for the to vse meanes, that the enemy maye not easelye followe the, or to giue him occasion to make delaye: in the first case, some after they haue beene sure to leese, haue taken order with their heads, that in diuers parts, and by diuers wayes they shoulde flye, hauing appointed



pointed where they should after assemble together: the which made, that the enemy (fearing to deuide the army) was faine to let go safe either all, or the greatest part of them. In the second case, many haue cast befoze the enemy, their dearest things, to the intent that hearing about the spoile, might giue them more leasure to flee. Titus Dimius vsed in his final policie to hide the losse, which he had receyued in the fight, for as much as hauing fought vntill night, with great losse of his men, he made in the night to be buried, the greatest parte of them, whercoze in the morning, the enemies seeing so many slaine of theirs, and so fewe of the Romaines, believing that they had the disadvantage, ran away. I trust I haue thus confusedly, as I sayde, satisfied in good part your demaunde: in deede about the fashions of the armies, there resteth mee to tell you, howe some time, by some Capitaynes, it hath bene vsed to make them with the fronte, like vnto a wedge, iudging to be able by such meane, moze easely to open the enemies army. Against this fashion, they haue vsed to make a fashion like vnto a paire of sheeres, to be able betwixen the same voide place, to receyue that wedge, and to compasse it about, and to fight with it on euery side: where vpon I will that you take this generall rule, that the greatest remedie that is vsed against a deuise of the enemy, is to do willinglye the same, whiche he hath deuised that thou shalt do perforce: because that doing it willingly, thou doest it with order, and with thy aduantage, & his disadvantage, if thou shouldst doe it being inforced, it should be thy vndoing: for the prouing wherof, I care not to reherse vnto you, certaine things already tolde. The aduersarie maketh the wedge to open thy bandes; if thou go west with them open, thou disorderest him, and he disordereth not thee. Anibal set the Elephanter in the fronte of his armye, to open with them the army of Scipio. Scipio wente with it open, and it was the

A policie of Titus Dimius to hide a losse, vvhich receiued in a fighte.

A generall rule.

Anibal Scipio.

## The fourth Book of the

Asdrubal.

occasion of his victorie, and of the ruine of him. Asdrubal placed his strongest men in the midst of the front of his army, to overthrow Scipios men: Scipio commanded, that by them selves they should retire and he broke them: So that like deuises when they are foreseene, be the causes of the victorie of him, against whom they be prepared. There remaineth me also, if I remember my selfe well, to tell you what respectes a Capitayne ought to haue, before he leade his men to fight: vpon which I haue to tell you first, howe a capitayne oughte neuer to fight a battaile, except he haue aduantage, or be constrained. The vantage groweth of the situation, of the order of hauing more, or better men: the necessitie, groweth when thou seest how that not fighting, thou must in any wise lose, as should be for lacking of money, and for this, thy armye to be ready all maner of wayes to resolve, where famishment is readye to assaulte thee, where the enemye looketh to be ingrosed with newe men: in these cases, thou oughtest alwayes to fighte, although with thy disaduantage: for that it is much better to attempte fortune, where she maye fauour thee, then not attempting, to see thy certayne ruine: and it is as greuous a faulte in this case, in a capitayne not to fight, as to haue had occasion to overcome, and not to haue either knowen it through ignorance, or lest it through vilenesse. The aduantages some times the enemye giueth thee, and some times thy prudence: Hanny in passyng Riuers, haue bene broken of their enemye, that hath bene aware thereof, whom hath taried, till the one halfe hath bene of the one side, and the other halfe on the other, and then hath assaulted them, as Cesar did to the Swizzers, where he destroyed the fourth part of them, though being halfe ouer a river.

A Capitaine ought not to fighte without aduantage, except he be constrained.

Howe aduantage may be taken of the enemies.

Some time thy enemye is founde wearye, for hauing followed thee to vnderstande, so that finding thy selfe freshe and lustie, thou oughtest not to let passe suche



an occasion: besides this, if the enemy offer vnto thee in the morning betimes to fight, thou maiest a good while deferre to issue out of thy lodging, and when hee hath stode long in armour, and that he hath losse that same firste heate, with the whiche he came, thou maiest then fight with him. This way Scipio and Petellus vsed in Spaine: the one against Asdrubal, the other against Sertorius. If the enemy be diminished of power, either for hauing deuided the armie, as the Scipios in Spain, or for some other occasion, thou oughtest to prooue chauce. The greatest part of prudent Capitaynes, rather receiue the violence of the enemies, then go with violence to assault them: for that the fury is easely withstode of sure and stedy men, & the fury being sustayned, conuerteth lightly into vilenesse: Thus Fabius did against the Hannites, and against the Galles, and was victorious and his fellowe Decius remayned slaine. Some fearing the power of their enemies, haue begun the fight a litle before night, to the intent y their men chauncing to be overcome, might they by the helpe of the darkenesse thereof, saue them selues. Some hauing knowen, howe the enemies army being taken of certayne superstition, not to fight in such a time, haue chosen the same time to fight, and overcome: The which Cesar obserued in France, against Ariouistus, and Vespasian in Surrie, against the Iewes.

Furie with-  
stode, con-  
uerteth into  
vilenesse.

The greatest and moste impoztaunte aduertismente, that a Capitayne oughte to haue, is to haue about him faithfull men, that are wise and moste experte in the warre, with whom hee must continually consulte and reason of his men, & of those of the enemies, which is the greater number, whiche is best armed, or best on horsebacke, or best exercised, which be most apt to suffer necessitie, in whome he trusteth most, either in the footemen, or in the horsemen: after they ought to consider the place where they be, and whether it be more  
to

What man-  
ner of men a  
capitaine  
ought to  
haue about  
him conti-  
nually, to  
consult with  
all.

## The fourth Booke of the

more to the purpose for the enemy, then for him: which of them hath victualles mosse commodious, whether it be god to deferre the battayle, or to fight it: what good might be geuen him, or taken awaye by tyme: for that many tymes, Souldiours seeing the warre to be delayed, are greued, and being wearie, in the paine and in the tediousnesse thereof, wyll forsake the. It importeth aboue all thing, to knowe the Capitaine of the enemies, and whom he hath about hym, whether he be rashe, or politike, whether he be fearefull, or hardie: to see howe thou mayest trust vpon the ayding Souldiours. And aboue all thing thou oughtest to take heede, not to conduct the armie to fight when it feareth, or when in any wise it mistrusteth of the victorie: for that the greatestt signe to lose, is when they beleue not to be able to winne: and therefore in this case thou oughtest to auoyde the fighting of the felde, either with doing as Fabius Maximus, whom encamping in strong places, gaue no courage to Anibal, to go to finde hym, or when thou shouldest thinke that the enemy also in strong places, woulde come to finde the, to depart out of the felde, & to deuide the me into the towne, to the intent that tediousnes of winning them, may weary him.

Zanobi. Can not the fighting of the battayle be otherwise auoyded, then in deuiding the armie in sunderie partes, and placing the men in Townes?

Fabritio. I beleue that once alredie, with some of you I haue reasoned, howe that he that is in the felde, can not auoyde to fight the battayle, when he hath an enemy, whiche wyll fight with him in any wyse, and he hath not but one remedie, and that is, to place hym selfe with his armie disfaunt fiftie miles at least, from his aduersarie, to be able betimes to auoyde him, when he shoulde go to finde hym. For Fabius Maximus neuer auoyded to fight the battayle with Anibal, but he woulde haue it with his aduantage: and Anibal

did

The conditions of the capitaine of the enemies and of those that are about him is most requisite to be knownen.

A timorous armie is not to be conducted to fight,

Howe to auoide the fighting of a felde.

Fabius Maximus.



did not presume to be able to overcome him, going to finde him in the places where he incamped: where if he had presupposed, to haue bene able to haue overcome; it had bene conuenient for Fabius, to haue fought the battailes with him, or to haue auoied.

Philip king of Macedonia, the same that was father to Perse, coming to warre with the Romaines, pitched his campe vpon a verie highe hill, to the intent not to fight with them: but the Romaynes wente to finde him on the same hill, and discomfited him. Cingentorize capitayne of the French men, for that he would not fighte the field with Caesar, whome contrarie to his opinion, had passed a riuer, got a way many miles with his men. The Venecians in our time, if they would not haue come to haue fought with the French king, they ought not to haue taried till the French army, had passed the Riuer Addus, but to haue gotten from them as Cingentorize, where they hauing taried, knewe not howe to take in the passing of the men, the occasion to fighte the battaile, nor to auoyde it: for that the French men being nere vnto them, as the Venecians wente out of their Campe, assaulted them, and discomfited them: so it is, that the battaile cannot be auoied, when the enemye in any wise will fight, nor let no man alledge Fabius, for that so muche in the same case, he dyd lie the daye of battaile, as Anibal. It happeneth manye tymes, that thy Souldiours be willing to fight, and thou knowest by the number, and by the situatiō, or for some other occasion to haue disaduantage, & desirest to make them chaunge from this desire: it happeneth also, that necessitie, or occasion, constrayneth thee to fighte, and that thy souldiours are euill to be trusted, and small ye disposed to fighte: where it is necessary in the one case, to make them afrayed, and in the other to encourage them: In the firste case, when perswasions sufficeth not, there is no better waye, then to giue in praye, a

Philip king  
of macedon.  
ouercome  
by the Ro-  
maines.

Howe cingē  
torize auoi-  
ded the figh-  
ting of the  
ficke vwith  
Caesar.  
The ignora-  
ce of the ve-  
necians.

what is to  
bee done  
vwhere soul-  
diours desire  
to fight, con-  
trarie to  
their capi-  
tains minde.

part

## The fourth Book of the

part of the vnto y<sup>e</sup> enemye, to the intent those that haue, and those that haue not fought, may beleue the: and it may very well be done with art, the same which to Fabius Maximus happened by chaunce. The army of Fabius (as you knowe) desired to fighte with Anibals army: the very same desire had the master of his hoyses to Fabius it seemed not good, to attēpt the fighte: so that thzough suche contrarie opinions, he was faine to diuide the armye: Fabius kept his men in the campe, the other fought, and comming into great perill, had bene ouerthzowen, if Fabius had net rescued him: by the which insample the maister of the hoise, together with all the armye, knewe howe it was a wise waye to obey Fabius. Concerning to encourage the to fight, it should bee well done, to make them to disdain the enemies, shewing howe they speake slanderous woordes of them, to declare to haue intelligence with them, and to haue corrupted part of them, to incāpe in place, where they maye see the enemies, and make some light skirmishe with them, soz that the thing that is dayly scene, with moze facilitie is despised: to shewe them to be vnwozthie, and with an oration soz the purpose, to reprehende them of their cowardnesse, and soz to make them ashamed, to tell them that you will fight alone, when they will not beare you company. And you ought aboue all thing to haue this aduertismente, minding to make the Souldiour obstinate to fighte, not to permit, that they may sende home any of their substaunce, oz to leaue it in any place, till the warre be ended, that they may vnderstande, that although flying saue their life, yet it saueueth not them their goodes, the loue wherof, is wont no lesse then the same, to make men obstinate in defence.

How to encourage souldiours.

An aduertisement to make the souldiour most obstinately to fight.

Zanobi. You haue tolde, howe the souldiours maye be tourned to fighte, with speaking to them: doe you meane by this, that all the army must be spoken vnto, oz to the heades thereof?

Fabritio.



Fabritio. To perswade, or to diswade a thing vnto fewe, is verge easie, for that if woꝝdes suffice not, you maye then vse authozitie and foꝛce: but the difficultie is, to remoue from a multitude an euill opinion, & that which is contrarve either to the common profite, or to thy opinion, where cannot be vlsed but woꝝds, the whiche is mæte they be hearde of euerye man, minding to perswade them all. Wherefoꝛe, it was requisite that the excellent Captaines were orators: for that without knowing howe to speake to all the army, with difficultie maye be wrought any good thing: the whiche altogether in this our time is layed aside. Reade the life of Alexander Magnus, and you shall see how many times it was necessarie for him to perswade, and to speake publicly to his army: otherwise he shoulde neuer haue brought them, being become ritche, and full of spoile, through the desertes of Arabia, and into India with so much his disease, and trouble: for that infinite times there growe thinges, wherby an army ruinateth, when the Capitayn either knoweth not, or vseth not to speake vnto the same, for that this speaking taketh away feare, discourageth the mindes, increaseth the obstinatensse to fight, discovereth the deceptes, promiseth rewardes, sheweth the perilles, and the waye to auoide them, reprehendeth, prayeth, threateneth, filleth full of hope, praise, shame, and doth all those thinges, by the which the humane passions are extincte, or kindeled: wherfoꝛe that Prince, or common weale, which should appointe to make a newe power, and cause reputation to their armye, ought to accustome the Souldiours thereof, to heare the Capitayn to speake, and the capitayn to know how to speake vnto them. In keeping desposed the souldiours in olde time, to fighte for their countrie, the religion auailed muche, and the othes whiche they gaue them, when they lead them to warfare: for as much as in all their faultes, they threatned them not onely with

It is requisite for excellent Capitaines to be good orators.

Alexander magnus vsed openly to perswade his army.

The effectuousnesse of speaking.

Souldiours ought to be accustomed to heare their Capitaine speake. How in old time souldiours vvere threatened for their those faultes.

## The fourth Booke

Enterprifes  
maie the ca-  
selier be  
brought to  
passe  
by meanes  
of religion.  
sertorius.

A policie of  
silla.

A policie of  
Charles the  
7. king of  
Fraunce a-  
gainst the  
Englismen.  
Hovv soul-  
diours maie  
bee made to  
esteeme litle  
their enemi.

The surest  
vway to mak  
souldiours  
most obsti-  
nate to fight

By vvhath  
meanes ob-  
stinatenesse  
to fight is  
increased.

those punishmentes, whiche mighte bee feared of men, but with those which of God mighte bee looked for: the which thing mingled with the other Religious maners, made manye times easye to the auncient Capitaynes all enterprises, and will do alwayes, where Religion shall be feared, and obserued. Sertorius preuailed, by declaring that hee spake with a Stagge, the whiche in Goddes parte, promised him the victoꝛye.

Silla sayde, he spoke with an Image, which he had taken out of the Temple of Apollo. Many haue tolde howe GOD hath appeared vnto them in their sleepe, who hath admonished them to fight. In our fathers time, Charles the seventh king of France, in the warre which he made against the Englishmen, saide, hee counsailed with a mayde, sent from God, who was called euerye where the Damosell of Fraunce, the which was occasion of his victoꝛie. There maye be also vbled meanes, that may make thy men to esteeme litle the enemye, as Agesilao a Spartaine vbled, who shewed to his souldiours, certayne Persians naked, to the intent that seeing their delicate members, they should not haue cause to feare them. Some haue constrayned their men to fight through necessitie, taking awaye from them all hope of sauing them selues, sauing in ouercomming.

The which is the strongest, and the beste prouision that is made, to purpose to make the souldiour obstinate to fight: which obstinatenesse is increased by the confidence and loue of the Capitayne, or of the countrie. Confidence is caused through the armour, the order, the late victoꝛie, and the opinon of the Capitayne. The loue of the countrie, is caused of nature that of the Capitaine, through vertue, moze then by anye other benefite: the necessities may be many, but that is strongest, whiche constrayneth the, either to ouercome, or to die.



*The fiftē Booke of the Arte*  
 of warre, of Nicolas Machiauel, Citezen and Secre-  
 tarie of Florence, vnto Laurence  
 Philp Strozze.

Fabritio.



Haue shewed you , howe an  
 armye, is ordayned to fight a  
 fielde with an other armye,  
 which is seen pitched against  
 it , and haue declared vnto  
 you, howe the same is ouer-  
 come , and after manye cir-  
 cumstances. I haue likewise  
 shewed you , what diuers  
 chaunces may happen about

the same, so that mee thinkes time to shewe you now,  
 howe an armye is ordered, against the same enemye,  
 which other wise is not seene, but continuallye feared,  
 that hee assaulte thee : this happeneth when an armye  
 marcheth through the enemies countrie , or through  
 suspected places. Firste, you must vnderstande, how  
 a Romaine armye, sent alwaies ordinaryly afoze, cer-  
 tayne bandes of hoysenmen, as spies of the waye : after  
 followed the righte hoysen, after this , came all the car-  
 riages, whiche to the same appertayned , after this,  
 came a Legion , after it , the carriages thereof, after  
 that, an other legion , and nexte to it , their carriages,  
 after whiche , came the lefte hoysen, with the carriages  
 thereof at their backe, and in the laste parte , followed  
 the remnaunte of the chivalrye : this was in effecte the  
 maner, with which ordinarylye they marched : and if it  
 happened that the armye were assaulted in the way

Howe the  
 Romaines  
 marched  
 vwith their  
 armies.

## The fift Booke of

Howe the  
Romaines  
ordered  
their armie  
vwhen it hap  
pened to be  
assaulted on  
the vvaic.

Howe the  
maine bat  
tailes ought  
to marche.

on the fronte, or on the backe, they made streight wayes all the carriages to be drawen, either on the right, or on the the lefte side, according as chaunced, or as they could beste, hauyng respecte to the situacion: and all the men together free from their impediments, made head on that parte, where the enemy came. If they were assaulted on the flank, thei drew the carriages towarde the same parte that was safe, and of y other, they made head. This waye beyng well and prudently gouerned, I haue thought meete to imitate, sending afoze the light horsemen, as explozateurs of the Countrey: Then hauyng slower maine battailes, I would make them to marche in arais, and euery one with their carriages following them. And soz that there be two sortes of carriages, that is parteyning to particuler Souldiours, and parteyning to the publique vse of all the Campe, I woulde deuide the publique Carriages into foure partes, and to euery maine battayle, I woulde appoint his part, deuiding also the artillerie into foure partes, and all the vnarmed, so that euery number of armed men, shoulde equally haue their impedimentes. But because it happeneth some times, that they marche through the Countrey, not onely suspected, but so dangerous, that thou fearest euery houre to be assaulted, thou art constrained soz to go moze sure, to change the forme of marching, and to go in suche wise prepared, that neither the Countrey men, noz any armie, maye hurt thee, findyng thee in any part vnprovided. In such case, the auuncient Captaynes were wonte to marche with the armie quadzante, whiche so they called this forme, not soz that it was altogether quadzant, but soz that it was apt to fight of foure partes, and they sayde, that they went prepared, both soz the waye, and soz the fight: from whiche waye, I wyll not digresse, and I wyll ordayne my two maine battayles, whiche I haue taken soz to make an armie of, to this effect.

Win  
ding



ding therefore, to marche safelye through the enemies  
 Countrie, and to bee able to aunswere him on euery  
 side, when at vnwares the armye might chaunce to bee  
 assaulted, and intending therfoze, according to the anti-  
 quitie, to bringe the same into a square, I would deuise to  
 make a quadrante, that the roome thereof shoulde be of  
 space on euery part. Clij. yardes, in this maner. Firste  
 I would put the flankes, distant the one flanke from  
 the other. Clij. yardes, and I would place fīue battails  
 for a flanke, in a raye in length, and distant the one frō  
 the other, two yardes and a quarter: the whiche shall  
 occupie with their spaces, euery battaile occupying thir-  
 tie yardes. Clij. yardes. Then betwene the heade and  
 the tayle of these two flankes, I would place the other  
 tenne battailes, in euery parte fīue, ordering them after  
 suche sorte, that foure shoulde ioyne to the heade of the  
 righte flanke, and foure to the tayle of the left flanke,  
 leaning betwēne euery one of them, a distance of thre  
 yardes: one shoulde after ioyne to the heade of the lefte  
 flanke, & one to the tayle of the right flanke: & for that  
 the space that is betwēne the one flanke and the other,  
 is. Clij. yardes, and these battails which are set the one  
 to the side of the other by breadth, & not by length, will  
 come to occupie with  $\frac{1}{2}$  distaunces one hūdzred yardes &  
 a halfe yarde, there shall come betwēne them foure bat-  
 tailes, placed in the fronte on the right flanke, and the  
 one placed in the same on the left, to remayne a space of  
 fiftie and eight yardes and a halfe, and the very same  
 space will come to remayne in the battailes, placed in  
 the hinder parte: nor there shall bee no difference, sa-  
 uing that the one space shall come on the parte behinde  
 towarde the right hozne, and the other shall come on the  
 part afoze, towarde the left hozne. In the space of  
 the. lviij. yardes and a halfe befoze, I would place all  
 the ordinarie Meliti, in the same behinde, the extraor-  
 dinarpe, which will come to be a thousande for a space,  
 and

The orderig  
 of an armie  
 after suche  
 foite, that it  
 maie march  
 safelic throu-  
 ghe the ene-  
 mies coutrie  
 & be alvvai-  
 es in a redi-  
 nes to fight.

The place in  
 the armie  
 where the  
 bowmen &  
 Markabur-  
 ters are ap-  
 pointed.

## The fift Booke of

and minding to haue the space that ought to be within the armie, to be euery way a hundred fiftie and nine yardes, it is mete that the five battayles which are placed in the head, and those which are placed in the tayle, occupie not any part of the space, whiche the flanckes kepe: and therfore it shalbe conuenient, that the five battayles behinde, do touche with the front, the tayle of their flanckes, and those afoze, with the tayle to touche the head after such sort, that vppon euery corner of the same armie, there may remaine a space to receyue an other battayle: and for that there be foure spaces, I woulde take foure bandes of the extraordinary Pikes, and in euery corner I woulde place one, and the two Ansignes of the foresayde Pikes, which shall remaine ouerplus, I woulde set in the middelt of the rowe of this armie, in a square battayle, on the head whereof, shoulde stande the generall Captayne, with his men about him. And for that these battayles ordeyned thus, marche all one way, but fight not all one way, in putting them together, those sides ought to be ordeyned to fight, which are not defended of thother battayles. And therfore it ought to be considered that the five battayles that be in the front, haue all their other partes defended, except the front: and therfore these ought to be put together in good order, and with the Pikes afoze. The five battayles which are behinde, haue all their sides defended, except the part behinde, and therfore those ought to be put together in suche wise, that the Pikes come behinde, as in the place thereof we shall shew. The five battayles that be in the right flancke, haue all their sides defended, except the right flancke. The five that be on the left flancke, haue all their partes defended, except the left flancke: and therfore in ordering the battayles, they ought to be made, that the Pikes may turne on the same flancke y lieth open: the Peticapaynes to stand on the head & on the tayle, so that needing to fight, al the

The place in the army vwhere the extraordinarie Pikes are appointed.

The place in the armie vwhere the general capitain must be.



armour and weapons maye be in their due places, the waye to doe this, is declared where we reasoned of the maner of ordering the battailes. The artillery I would deuide, and one part I would place without, on the left flank, and the other on the right. The light horsemen I woulde sende afoze to discover the countrie, Of the men of armes, I woulde place parte behinde, on the righte hozne, and part on the left, distante about thirtie yardes from the battailes: and concerning horse, you haue to take this for a general rule in euery condition, where you ordayne an armye, that alwaies they ought to be put, either behinde, or on the flankes of the same: be that putteth them afoze, ouer against the army, it be- houeth him to do one of these two thinges, either that he put them so muche afoze, that being repulced, they maye haue so muche space, that maye giue them time, to be able to go a side from thy footemen, and not to run vpon them, or to order them in suche wise, with so manye spaces, that the horses by those may enter betwene them, without disordering the. For let no man esteeme litle this remembraunce, for as muche as manye capti- uaynes, whome hauing taken no hede therof, haue been ruined, and by them selues haue bene disordered, & broken. The carriages and the vnarmed men are placed in the rowe that remayneth within the army, and in suche sorte equally deuided, that they maye giue the waye easly, to whome so euer would go either from the one corner to the other, or from the one head, to the other of the armye. These battailes without the ar- tillerie and the horse, occupie euery way from the viter side, two hundred and eleuen yardes & a halfe of space: and because this quadzante is made of two maine bat- tailes, it is conuenient to distinguish, what part the one maine battaile maketh, and what the other: and for that the mayne battailes are called by the number, & euery of them hath (as you knowe) tenne battailes,

VWhere the  
artillerie  
must be pla-  
ced.

The light  
horsemen  
must be sent  
before to  
discover the  
countrie, &  
the men of  
armes to  
come be-  
hinde the  
armye.  
A general  
rule concer-  
ning horse.

vwhere the  
carriages &  
the vnarmed  
are placed.

## The fift Booke of

and a generall head, I would cause that the first maine battaile, should be set the firste v. battailes thereof in the fronte, the other five, in the lefte flank, and the Capitayne of the same should stande in the left cozner of the front. The seconde maine battaile, should then put the first five battailes therof, in the right flank, and the other five in the tayle, and the head capitayne of the same, should stand in the right cozner, whome coulde come to do the office of the Tergiductor. The armie ordayned in this maner, ought to be made to moue, and in the marching, to obserue all this order, and without doubt, it is sure from all the tumultes of the countrey men.

For the Capitayne ought not to make other prouision, to the tumultuarie assaultes, then to giue sometime Commission to some horse, or Ansigne of Veliti, that they set themselves in order: nor it shall neuer happen that these tumultuous people, will come to finde thee at the drawing of the sword, or Pikes pointe: for that men out of order, haue feare of those that be in aray: & alwaies it shall be seene, that with cries and rumours, they will make a great assaulte, without other wise coming nere vnto thee, like vnto barking curres about a Mastie. Amibal when he came to the hurt of the Romans into Italie, he passed through all Fraunce, and alwaies of the French tumultes, hee tooke small regarde. Spindling to marche, it is conuenient to haue playners & labourers afoze, who may make thee by way playn, which shall be garded of those horsemen, that are sent afoze to vewe the countrey: an armie in this order may marche ten mile the day, and shall haue time ynough to incampe and suppe befoze Sunne going downe, for that ordinarily, an army may marche twentie mile: if it happen that thou be assaulted, of an armye set in order, this assaulte cannot growe sodainly: for that an armie in order, commeth with his pace, so that thou maiest haue time ynough, to set thy selfe in order to fighte the field,

and

The vvaie  
muste bee  
made plaine  
vwhere the  
armie shall  
marche in  
order.  
How many  
miles a daie  
an armie  
maye  
marche in  
battaile raie  
to be able to  
incampe be-  
fore sun set.



and reduce thy men quickl̄ye into the same fashion, or like to the same fashion of an armie, which afoze is shewd th̄e. For that if thou be assaulted, on the part afoze, thou needest not but to cause that the artillerie that be on the flankes, and the hoꝛse that be behinde, to come befoze, and place them selues in those places, and with those distaunces as afoze is declared. The thousande Meliti that be befoze, must go out of their place, and be deuided into fīue hundred for a part, and go into their place, betwēne the hoꝛse and the hoꝛnes of the armie: then in the voyde place that they shall leaue, the two Ansignes of the extraordinary Pikes must enter, which I did set in the middlest of the quadrante of the armie. The thousande Meliti, which I placed behinde, must depart from the same place, and deuide them selues in the flankes of the battayles, to the fortification of those: and by the open place that they shall leaue, all the carryages and vnarmed men must go out, and place them selues on the backe of the battayle. When the rowne in the middlest being voyded, and euery man gone to his place: the fīue battayles which I placed behinde on the armie, must make forwarde in the voyde place, that is betwēne the one and the other flanker, and marche towards the battayles that stande in the head, and thre of them must stande within thirtie yardes of those, with equall distaunces betwēne the one and the other, and the other two shall remaine behinde, distaunt other thirtie yardes: the which fashion may be ordayned in a sūdaine, and cometh almost to be like vnto the first disposition, whiche of the armie afoze we shewd. And though it come straighter in the front, it cometh grosser in the flankes, which gēeth it no lesse strength: but because the fīue battayles that be in the taile, haue 5 Pikes on the hinder part, for the occasion that befoze we haue declared, it is necessarīe to make them to come on the parte afoze, minding to haue them to make a backe

The ordering  
of the army,  
when it is  
assaulted on  
the vauvard.

## The fifth Booke of the

to the front of the armie : and therefore it behoueth ei-  
ther to make them to tourne battayle after battaile, as  
a whole bodye, or to make them quicklye to enter be-  
twene the orders of targettes, and conduct them afoze  
the whiche waye is moze speedye, and of lesse disorder,  
then to make them to tourne all together : and so thou  
oughtest to do by all those, whiche remayne behinde in  
euerye condition of assaulte, as I shall shewe you. If it  
apppeare that the enemye come on the part behinde, the  
first thing that ought to be done, is to cause that euerye  
man tourne his face, where his backe stode, & straight  
way the armie cometh to haue made of taile, head, and  
of head taile: then all those wayes ought to be kepte, in  
ordering the same front, as I tolde afoze. If the enemye  
come to incounter the right flank, the face of the army  
ought to be made to turne towards the same side: after,  
make all those things in fortification of the same head,  
which aboue is saide, so y the horsemen, the Weliti, and  
the artillerie, may be in places consoznable to the head  
thereof: onely you haue this differēce, y in varying the  
head of those which are trāsposed, some haue to go moze  
& some lesse. In deede making head of the right flācke,  
the Weliti ought to enter in y spaces, y bē between the  
horne of the army, & those horse, which were nearest to  
the left flank, in whose place ought to enter, the two  
Ansignes of y extraordinarye Pikes, placed in the mid-  
dest: But first the carriages & the vnarmed, shal go, out  
by the open place, auoiding the rowne in midst, & re-  
tiring them selues behinde the left flank, which shall  
come to be then the taile of the armye: the other Weliti  
that were placed in the tayle, according to the principal  
ordering of the armye, in this case, shall not moue: Be-  
cause the same place should not remaine open. which of  
tayle shall come to bē flank: all other thing ought to  
bē done, as in ordering of the firste head is saide: this  
that is told about the making head of the right flank,

must

The ordering  
of the army  
vvhē the ene-  
mye comes  
to assaulte it  
behinde.

Howe the  
armie is or-  
dered vvhē  
it is assaulted  
of anie of  
the sides.



must be vnderstoode to be tolde, hauing neede to make it of the left flank: for that the very same order oughte to be obserued. If the enemy should come grosse, and in order to assault thee on two sides, those two sides, whiche he commeth to assault thee on, ought to be made strong with the other two sides, that are not assaulted, doubling the orders in eche of them, and deuiding for both partes the artillerie, the Meliti, and the horse. If he come on three or on foure sides, it is necessary that either thou or hee lacke prudence: for that if thou shalt be wise, thou wilt neuer put thy selfe in place, that the enemy on three or foure sides, with a great number of men, and in order, maye assault thee: for that minding, safelye to hurte thee, it is requisite, that he be so great, that on every side, he maye assault thee, with as many men, as thou hast almost in all thy army: & if thou be so vnwise, that thou put thy selfe in the daunger & force of an enemy, whome hath three times moze men ordayned then thou, if thou catche hurte, thou canst blame no man but thy selfe: if it happen not thzough thy fault, but thzough some mischaunce, the hurt shall be without the shame, and it shall chaunce vnto thee, as vnto the Scipions in Spaine, and to Alzubal in Italie: but if the enemye haue not manye moze men then thou, and intende for to disorder thee, to assaulte thee on diuers sides, it shall be his foolishnesse, and thy good fortune: for as muche as to do so, it is conueniente, that hee become so thinne in suche wise, that then easlye thou mayest ouerthrow one bande, and withstande another, and in shorthe time ruinate him: this maner of ordering an armye against an enemy, whiche is not scene, but whiche is feared, is a necessarie and a profitable thing, to accustom the Souldiours, to put them selues together, and to march with such order, and in marching, to order them selues to fighte, according to the firste heade, and after to retourne in the forme, that they marched in, then to

What is to be don vvhē the armie is assaulted on two sides.

## The fift Booke of the

make heade of the taile, after, of the flankes from these to retourne into the first fashon: the whiche exercises & vbes bee necessarie, minding to haue an army, thzoughly instructed and pzactised: in which thing the Princes and the Capitaynes, ought to take paine. For the discipline of warre is no other, then to knowe howe to commaunde, and to execute these thinges. For an instructed armye is no other, then an armie that is well pzactised in these ozders: noz it canot be possible, that who soeuer in this time, should vse like discipline shall euer be broken. And if this quadzante forme whiche I haue shewed you, is somewhat difficulte, suche difficultesse is necessarie, taking it for an exercise: for as muche as knowing well, howe to set them selues in order, and to maintaine them selues in the same, they shall knowe after more easly, how to stande in those, which should not haue so muche difficultie.

Zanobi. I beleue as you saye, that these ozders bee verie necessary, and I for my parte, knowe not what to adde or take from it: true it is, that I desire to knowe of you two thinges, the one, if when you will make of the taile, or of the flank, head, and would make them to tourne, whether this be commaunded by the voyce, or with the sounde: the other, whether those that you sende afoze, to make playne the waie, for the armye to marche, oughte to bee of the verie same souldiours of your battailes, or other vile men appointed, to like exercise. Fabritio. Your first question impozteth much: for that manye times the commaundementes of Capitaynes, being not well vnderstode, or euyll interpreted, haue disordered their armie: therefore the voyces with the whiche they commaunde in perelles, ought to bee cleare and nete. And if thou commaunde with the sounde, it is conuenient to make that betweene the one way and the other, there bee so much difference, that the one can not be chaunged for the other: and if thou

com.

Commaundementes of Capitaines being not well vnderstode, maie bee the destruction of an armie. Respect that is to bee had in commaundementes made vwith the sound of the Troper.



commaūdest with the voyce, thou oughtest to take hēde that thou sīe the general voyces, and to vse the particulars, and of the particulars, to sīe those, which may be interpreted snīterly. Many times the saying backe, backe, hath made to ruinate an armie: therefore this voyce ought not to be v̄sed, but in steede thereof to vse, retire you. If you wil make them to turne, soz to chaūge the heade, either to flanke, o2 to backe, vse neuer to say tourne you, but saye to the left, to the right, to the backe, to the front: thus all the other voyces cught to be simple and nete, as thzuff on, march, stande strong, soz warde, retourne you: and all those thinges, which may be done with the voyce, they do, the other is done with ȳ sonnde. Concerning those men, ȳ must make the wayes plaine soz the armie to marche, whiche is your seconde question, I woulde cause my owne Souldiours to do this office, as well because in the aunciente warfare they dyd so, as also soz ȳ there should be in the armie, lesser number of vnarmed men, and lesse impedimentes: and I woulde chose out of euery battaile, the same number that should nēede, and I woulde make them to take the instrumentes, mēete to playne the grounde withall, & their weapons to leaue with those ranckes, that should bēe nēerest them, who should carrye them, and the enemye comming, they shall haue no other to doe, then to take them again, and to retourne into their araye.

In cōmaun-  
dementes  
made yvith  
the voyce,  
vvhath re-  
spect is to be  
had.

Of Pianars.

Zanobi. Who shall carrie the instrumentes to make the waye playne withall?

Fabritio. The Cartes that are appointed to carrye the like instrumentes.

Zanobi. I doubt whether you shoulde euer bring these our Souldiours, to labour with Shouel o2 Pattocke, after suche sozte.

Fabritio. All these thinges shall be reasoned in the place therof, but nowe I will let alone this parte, and reason of the maner of the victualling of the armie: soz that

## The fift Booke of the

that me thinketh, hauyng so moche trauiailed them, it is tyme to refrefhe them, and to comfozt them with meate. You haue to vnderftande, that a prince oughte to ordaine his armie, as expedite as is poffible, & take from the fame all thofe thynges, whiche maye caufe any trouble or burthen vnto it, and make vnto hym any enterprife difficulte. Amongest thofe thynges that caufeth moſte difficultie, is to be constrained to keepe the armie prouided of wine, and baked bzead. The antiquitie cared not for Wine, for that lackyng it, they dranke water, mingeled with a little vineger, to geue it a taſte: For whyche cauſe, among the municions of victualles for the hoſte, vineger was ons, and not wine. They baked not þ bzeade in Duens, as they vſe for Cities, but they prouided the Meale, & of the ſame, euery Souldiour after his owne maner, ſatified him ſelf, hauing for condimente Larde and Baken, þ which made the bzeade ſauerie, that they made, & maintained them ſtrong, ſo that the prouiſion of victualles for the armye, was Meale, Wineger, Larde, and Bacon, & for the hoſtes, Barley. They had ordinarie heardes of greate beaſtes & ſmall, which folowed the armie, the which hauyng no nede to be e carried, cauſed not moch impediment. Of this order there grewe, that an armie in olde tyme, marched ſometimes many dayes through ſolitarie places, and difficulte, without ſufferyng diſeaſe of victualles: for that they liued of thynges, which eaſely they might conuey after them. As the contrary it happeneth in the armyes, that are now a dayes, whiche myndyng not to lacke wine, and to eate baked bzead in the ſame maner, as when they are at home, whereof beyng not able to make prouiſion long, they remaine often times famiſhed, or though they be prouided, it is done wyth diſeaſe, and with moſte greate coſte: therfore I would reduce my armye to this maner of liuyng: and I would not that they ſhould eate other bzead, then that, which

The victualles that the antiquitie made prouiſion of, for their armies



by themselves they should beake. Concerning wine, I would not prohibite the drinking thereof, nor yet the coming of it into the army, but I would not use indour, nor any labour for to have it, and in the other provisions, I would governe my selfe altogether, like unto the antiquitie: the which thing, if you consider wel, you shall see how much difficultie is taken away, and howe much trouble and disease, an armye and a capitayne is auoyded of, and how much commoditie shall be giuen, to what so euer enterprize is to be done.

Zanobi. Wee haue overcome the enemye in the felde, marched afterwarde vpon his countrie, reason woulde, that spoiles be made, towne sacked, prisoners taken, therfore I woulde know, howe the antiquitie in these thinges, governed them selues.

Fabritio. Beholde, I will satisfie you. I beleue you haue considered, for that once already with some of you I haue reasoned, howe these present warres, impouerish as well those lordes that overcome, as those that lose: for that if the one lose his estate, the other loseth his money, and his mouables: the whiche in olde time was not, for that the conquerour of the warre, waxed ritche. This groweth of keeping no compte in these dayes of the spoyle, as in olde time they dyd, but they leaue it to the discretion of the Souldiours. This maner maketh two most great disorders: the one, that whiche I haue tolde: the other that the Souldiour becometh moze couetous to spoyle, and lesse obserueth the orders: and manye times it hath bene seene, howe the couetousnesse of the praye, hath made those to lose, whome were victorions.

Therefore the Romanes whiche were Princes of armies, provided to the one and to the other of these inconuenienses, ordaining that all the spoyle should be apertayne to the publicke, and that the publicke after should bestowe it, as should be thought good: and there,

The occasions vwhy the vvatres made nouve adaires, do impouerish the conquerours as vvell as the conquered.

The order that the Romanes toke concerning the spoyle & the booties that their souldiours got.

## The fift Booke of the

therefoze they had in tharmie the queſtours, who were as we woulde ſay, the chamberlaynes, to whoſe charge all the ſpoyle and booties were committed: whereof the conſul was ſerued to geue the ordinarie pay to the ſouldiours, to ſuccour the wounded, and the ſicke, and for the other buſinneſſe of the armie. The conſull might well, and he bleſt it often, to graunt a ſpoyle to ſouldiours: but this graunting made no diſorder: for that the armie beyng broken, all the pray was put in the middeſt, and diſtributed by head, according to the qualitie of euerye man: the which maner they conſtituted, to the entent that the ſouldiers ſhould attende to ouercome, and not to robbe: & the Romaine legiōs ouercame the enemies, & followed them not, for that they neuer departed from their orders: onely there followed them, the hozſemen, with thoſe that were light armed, and if there were any other ſouldiours then thoſe of the Legions, they likewiſe purſued the chafe. Where if the ſpoyle ſhoulde haue bene his that got it, it had not bene poſſible nor reasonable to haue kept the Legions ſteddie, & to withſtande many peryls: hereby grewe therefoze, that the common weale enriched, and euery Conſull carryed with his triumphe into the treaſurie, muche treaſure, which all was of booties & ſpoyles. An other thing the antiquitie did vppon good conſideration, that of the wages whiche they gaue to euerye ſouldiour, the thirde parte they woulde ſhoulde bee layed by nexte to him, whome carryed the Anſigne of their bande, whiche neuer gaue it them againe befoze the warre was ended: this they dyd, beyng moued of two reaſons, the firſt was to the entent that the ſouldiour ſhould thziue by his wages, becauſe the greateſt part of them bee yng young men, and careleſſe, the moze they haue, ſo much the moze without neede they ſpende, the other cauſe was, for that knowyng that their moueables were next to the Anſigne, they ſhoulde bee conſtrayned

An order  
that the an-  
tiquitie toke  
concerning  
their ſoul-  
diours vva-  
ges.



to haue moze care therof, and with moze obstinatensse to defende it: and this made them strong and to holde together: all which thinges is necessary to obserue, purposing to reduce the exercise of armes vnto the intier perfection therof.

Zanobi. I beleue that it is not possible, that to an armye that marcheth from place to place, there fall not perriolous accidentes, where the industrie of the Capitayne is needefull, & the worthynesse of the Souldiours, minding to auoide them. Therefore I woulde bee glad, that you remembryng any, would shewe them.

Fabritio. I shall content you with a good will, being in especially necessarye, intending to make of this exercise a perfecte science. The Capitaines ought aboute all other thinges, whilest they march with an army, to take hede of ambusshes, wherein they incurre daunger two wayes, either marching thou entrest into them, or thorough craft of y<sup>e</sup> enemye thou art trained in befoze thou art aware. In the first case, minding to auoide suche perill, it is necessarye to sende afoze double warde, who may discouer the countrey, and so muche the moze diligence ought to be vsed, the moze that the countrey is apt for ambusshes, as be the woddye or hilly countries, for that alwayes they be layde either in a wood, or behinde a hill: and as the ambussh not forsaene, doth ruine thee, so forsaeing the same, it cannot hurt thee. Many times byzdes or muche dust haue discouered the enemye: for that alwayes where the enemye cometh to finde thee, he shall make great dust, which shall signifie vnto thee his comming: so often times a Capitayne seeing in the places where hee oughte to passe, Dones to rise, or other of those byzdes that flye in flockes, and to tourne aboute and not to lighte, hath knowen by the same the ambussh of the enemies to be there, and sending befoze his men, and certaynely vnderstanding it, hath saued him selfe and hurte his enemye. Con-

Capitaines maie incurre the daunger of ambusshes tyvo maner of vvaies.

Howe to auoide the perill of ambusshes.

Howe ambusshes haue bene perceiued.

## The fift Booke of

cernyng the seconde case, to be trained in, (which these our men cal to be drawn to the shot) you ought to take hēde, not straight way to beleue those thinges, which are nothyng reasonable, y they be as they seeme: as shoulde be, if the enemy shoulde set afoze thē a praye, thou oughtest to beleue that in the same is the hōke, & that therein is hid the deceipte. If many enemies bee dziuen away by a fewe of thine, if a fewe enemies assaulte manye of thine, if the enemies make a sodeine flight, and not standyng with reason, alwayes thou oughtest in suche cases to feare deceipte, and oughtest neuer to beleue that the enemy knoweth not howe to doo his businesse, but rather intending that he may begyle thē the lesse, and myndyng to stand in lesse perill, the weaker that he is, & the lesse craftier that the enemy is, so much the more thou oughtest to esteeme him: and thou oughtest in this case vse two sundrie pointes, for thou muste to feare him in thy mind and with the order, but with wordes, and with other outwarde demonstration, to seeme to despyse him: because the laste way maketh that thy souldiours hope the more to haue the victorie: the other maketh thē more warie, & lesse apte to be begyled. And thou hast to vnderstand, that when men marche thorough the enemies countrey, they are in much more, and greater perils, then in fighting the felde: and therefore the Capitaine in marching, ought to vse double diligence: and the first thing that he ought to doo, is to get described, and painted oute all the countrey, through the whiche he must marche, so that he may know the places, the number, the distances, the waies, the hilles, the riuers, the fenness, and all the qualities of them: and to cause this to bee knowne, it is conuenient to haue with him diuersly, & in sundrie maners such men: as know the places, and to aske them with diligence, and to see whether their talke, agree and accoꝝdyng to the agreyng thereof. to

Howe the capitaine of the enemies ought to be esteemed.

Where men be in greatest perill.

The description of the countrey where an army muste march, is most requisite for a Capitaine to haue.

note



note, he oughte also to sende afoze the ho:semen, & with them prudente heades, not so much to discouer the enemie, as to beilue the countrie, to see whether it agree with the description, and with the knowlodge that they haue of the same. Also the guydes that are sente, ought to be kept with hope of reward, and feare of paine. And aboute all thinges it ought to be p:ouided, that the armye knowe not to what businesse hee leadeeth them: for that there is nothing in the warre moze profitable, then to keepe secret the thinges that is to be done: and to the intent a sodaine assaulte do not trouble thy Souldiours, thou oughtest to see them to stand ready with their weapons, because the thinges that are p:ouided for, offende lesse. Manye for to auoyde the confusion of marching, haue placed vnder the standarde, the carriages, and the vnarmed, and haue commaunded them to followe the same, to the intente that in marching needing to stay, or to retire, they might do it moze easly, whiche thing as profitable, I allowe very muche. Also in marching, aduertisement oughte to be had, that the one parte of the armye go not a sunder from the other, or that theye some going fast, and some soft, the armye become not slender: the whiche thinges, be occasion of disorder: therfore the heades must be placed in suche wise, that they maye maintayne the pace euen, cauuing to go soft those that go to fast, and to halte forward the other that go to slow, the which pace can not be better ruled, then by the stroke of the Dromme.

The wayes ought to be caused to be enlarged, so that alwayes at least a bande of iiii. hundred men may marche in the order of the battayle. The custome and the qualite of the enemie oughte to be considered, and whether that he will assaulte thee, either in the morning, or at none, or in the euening, & whether he be moze puissant with fo:emen or ho:seme, & according as thou vnderstandest to ordeyne & to p:ouide for thy self. But let vs come

A most profitable thing it is for a capitaine to be secret in all his affaires.

An aduertisement concerning the marching of an armie.

The marching of an armie ought to be ruled by the stroke of the Dromme.

The condition of the enemie ought to be considered.

## The fifth Booke of

to some particular accidente. It happeneth sometyme, that thou getting from the enemy, because thou iudgeth thy selfe inferiour, and therefore minding not to fight with him, and he comming at thy backe, thou ariuest at the backe of a riuer, passing ouer the which, asketh time; so that the enemy is ready to ouertake thee, and to fight with thee. Some, which chaunsing to be in suche perill, haue inclosed their army on the hinder part with a ditch and filling the same full of Towe, and siring it, haue then passed with the armie without being able to be letted of the enemy, he being by the same fire that was betwene them held backe.

Annone of  
Carthage.

Zanobi. I am harde of belife, that this fyre coulde stay them, inespéciallye because I remeber that I haue harde, how Annone of Carthage, being besieged of enemies, inclosed him selfe on the same parte, with wodde which he did set on fire where he purposed to make eruption. Wherefoze the enemies being not intentiue on the same part to looke to him, he made his army to passe ouer the same flame, causing euery man to holde his Target befoze his face soz to defende them from the fire, and smoke. Fabritio. You saye well: but consider you howe I haue sayde, and howe Annone did: soz as much as I sayde that they made a ditche, and filled it with Towe, so that hee, y woulde passe ouer the same, shoulde be constrained to contend with the ditche & with fire: Annone made the fire, without the ditche, and because hee intended to passe ouer it, hee made it not great, soz that other wise without the ditch, it shoulde haue letted him. Do you not knowe, that Nabide a Spartan being besieged in Sparta of the Romaynes, set fire on parte of his Towne to let the waye to the Romanes, who alreedye were entered in? And by meane of the same flame not onelye hindered their waye, but dzaue them out: but let vs turne to our matter. Quintus Luffatius a Romaine, hauing at his backe the Cimbriz, and comming

Nabide a  
Spartane.



myng to a riuer, to thentente the enemye shoulde geue hym time to passe ouer, seemed to geue tyme to them to foyght wyth hym: and therfore he sained that he would lodge there, & caused trenches to be made, and certayne pavilions to be erected, and sent certayne hozsemen into the countrey for forredge: so that the Cimbrise beleuyng, that he incamped, they also incamped, and deuyded them selues into sundry partes, to prouyde for victuals, whereof Luttatius beyng aware, passed the riuer they beyng not able to let hym. Some for to passe a ryuer hauyng no bydye, haue deuyded it, and one parte they haue turned behynde theyr backes, & the other then becomynge shallower, wyth ease they haue passed it: whē the ryuers bē swyft, purposyng to haue theyr footemen to passe safelye, they place theyr strongest hozses on the higher syde, y they may sustaine the water, & on other parte be lowe y may succour the men, yf any of y riuer in passyng shoulde be overcome wyth the water: They passe also ryuers, y bē verie dēpe, with bydges, wyth botes, & wyth barrelles: & therfore it is good to haue in a readinesse in an armie wherewyth to be able to make all these thynges. It fortuneth sometime that in passyng a riuer, the enemye standing agaynst thee on the other banke, doeth let thee: to minde to overcome this difficultie, I knowe not a better ensample to folow, then the same of Cesar, whome hauyng hys armye on the banke of a ryuer in Fraunce, and his passage beyng lettred of Uergintozige a Frenche man, the whych on the other syde of the riuer had hys men, marched many dayes a longe the riuer, and the lyke did the enemye: wherfore Cesar incamping in a woddie place, apte to hide men, he tooke out of euery legion thre cohorthes, and made them to tarye in the same place, commandyng them that so soone as he was departed, they shoulde caste ouer a bydye, and should fortifie it, and he wyth his other menne, folloved on the waye: wher-

Quintus  
Luttatius  
policie to  
passe ouer a  
riuer.

How to pas  
se a riuer  
vwithour a  
bydye.

A policie of  
Cesar to pas  
se a riuer,  
vwhere his  
enemye beig  
on the other  
side therof  
fought to let  
him.

## The fifth Booke of

foze Vergintozige ſeing the nombze of the Legions, thinking that there was not left anye parte of them behinde, followed alſo his waye: but Ceſar when he ſuppoſed that the brydge was made, tourned backwarde, and finding all thinges in order, paſſed the riuer without difficultie.

Howve to knowv the Foordes of a riuer.

Zanobi. Haue ye any rule to knowe the foordes?

Fabritio. Yea, wée haue: alwayes the riuer, in that part, whiche is betwæne the water, that is ſtilleſte, and the water that runneth faſteſt, there is leaſt dæpth, and it is a place moze mæte to bée looked on, then any other where. For that alwaies in the ſame place, the riuer is moſt ſhalloweſt. The which thing, becauſe it hath bēene pꝛoued many times, is moſt true.

Zanobi. If it chaunce that the Riuer haue made the Foode, ſo that the hozſes ſinke, what remedye haue you?

Howve to eſcape out of a ſtraight vvhere the ſame is beſet vvith enemies.

Fabritio. The remedye is to make hardels of roddeſ which muſt be placed in the bottome of the riuer, and ſo to paſſe vpon thoſe: but let vs followe our reaſoning. If it happē that a Capitain be lead with his army, betwæn two hilles, & that he haue not but two wayes to ſaue him ſelſe, either ȳ befoze, or ȳ behinde, & thoſe being beſet of ȳ enemies, he hath ſoꝛ remedye to do the ſame, which ſome haue done heretofore, ȳ which haue made on their hinder part a great trench, difficulte to paſſe ouer, & ſeemed to the enemye, to minde to kēpe him of, ſoꝛ to be able with al his power, without needing to feare behinde to make ſoꝛce ȳ way, which befoze remained open. The which the enemies beleeuing, haue made them ſelues ſtrōg, towardes the open part, & haue ſoꝛ ſaken the incloſed, & he then caſting a brydge of wood ouer the Trench, ſoꝛ ſuch an effecte prepared, both on the ſame part, with out anye impedimente hath paſſed, and alſo deliuered himſelſe out of the handes of the enemye.

Howve Luti- us Minutius eſcaped out of a ſtraight

Minutius a Conſul of Rome, was in Liguria with an army



armie, and was of the enemies inclosed, betwene certaine hilles, whereby he coulde not go out: therefore he sente certaine souldiours of Numidia on horsebacke, which he had in his armie (whome were euill armed, and vpon little leane horses) towards the places that were kepte of the enemies, who at the first sight made the enemies, to order them selues together, to defende the passage: but after that they sawe these men ill appointed, & accordyng to theyr faction euill horsed, regarding them little, enlarged the orders of their warde, whereof so sone as the Numidians were away, geuing the spurs to their horses, and runnyng violently vpon them, passed befoze they could prouide any remedy, who beyng passed, destroyed and spoiled the countrey after suche sort that they constrained the enemies, to leaue the passage free to the armie of Lucius. Some capitaine, whiche hath perceiued him selfe to be assaulted of a greate multitude of enemies, hath drawen together his men, & hath geuen to the enemye comoditie, to compasse him all about, and then on the same parte, which he hath perceiued to be moste weake, hath made force, & by the same waie, hath caused to make waie, and saued him selfe.

vwherein he  
was inclo-  
sed of his e-  
nemies.

Howe some  
Capitaines  
haue suffred  
them selues  
to be compassed  
about of  
their ene-  
mies.

Marcus Antonius retiring befoze the armie of the Parthians, perceiued how the enemies euery daye befoze Sun rising, when here moued, assaulted him, and all the waie troubled hym, in so much, that he determined not to departe the nexte daie befoze none: so that the Parthians beleuing, that he would not remoue that daie, returned to their tentes. Whereby Marcus Antonius might then all the reste of the daye, marche without any disquietnesse. This selfe same man for to auoide the arrowes of the Parthians, commaunded his men, that when the Parthians came towards them, they should kneele, and that the second ranke of the battailes, should couer with their targettes, the headdes of the firste, the thirde, the seconde, the fourth,

A policie of  
Marcus An-  
tonius.

A defence  
for the shot  
of arrowes.

## The fift Booke of

fourth, the thirde, and so successiuelly, that all the armie came, to be as it were vnder a penthouse, and defended from the shotte of the enemies. This is as muche as is come into my remembraunce, to tell you, whiche may happen vnto an armie marching: therfore, if you remember not anye thing els, I will passe to an other part.





*The sixte Booke of the Arte*  
of warre, of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secre-  
tarie of Florence, vnto Laurence  
Philip Strozze.

Zanobi.



Beleeue that it is good , see-  
ing the reasoning muste be  
chaunged, that Baptiste take  
his office , and I to resigne  
mine, and we shall come in  
this case, to imitate the good  
Capitaynes (accozding as I  
haue nowe here vnderstode  
of the gentilman) who place  
the best Souldiours , befoze

and behinde the armye , seëming vnto them necessarye  
to haue befoze , suche as maye lustly begin the fight,  
and suche as behinde maye lustly sustaine it. Howe  
seeing Cosinus began this reasoning prudently, Wap-  
tiste prudently shall ende it. As soz Luigi and I , haue  
in this middeit intertayned it , and as euerye one of vs  
hath takē his part willingly, so I belæne not, that Wap-  
tiste will refuse it.

Baptiste I haue let my selfe beëne gouerned hether to  
so I minde to do still. Therfoze be content sir, to follow  
your reasoning, and if we interrupt you with this prac-  
tise of ours, haue vs excused.

Fabritio. You do mee , as all reëdye I haue sayde, a  
moste great pleasure : soz this your interrupting mee,  
taketh not alwaye my fantasie , but rather refresheth  
mee. But minding to follo we our matter I saye, how  
that it is nowe time, that we lodge this our armie, soz

¶ i.

that

## The sixth Booke of the

that you knowe euerye thing desireth rest and safety, because to rest, and not to rest safely, is no perfecte rest: I doubt muche, whether it hath not bene desired of you, that I should first haue lodged them, after made them to marche, and last of all to fighte, and wee haue done the contrary: whereunto necessity hath brought vs, for that intending to shewe, howe an armye in going, is reduced from the forme of marching, to the same manner of fighting, it was necessarie to haue first shewed, howe they ordered it to fighte. But turning to our matter, I saye, that minding to haue the campe sure, it is requisite that it be strong, and in good order: the industrie of the Capitayne, maketh it in order: the situation, or the arte, maketh it strong. The Greekes sought strong situations, nor they would neuer place them selues, where had not bene either caue, or bancke of a riuer, or multitude of trees, or other naturall fortification, that might defende them: but the Romaines not so much incaped safe through the situation, as through arte, nor they would neuer incampe in place, where they shoulde not haue ben able to haue raunged all their bandes of men according to their discipline. Hereby grewe, that the Romaines might keepe alwayes one forme of incamping, for that they would, that the situation shoulde be ruled by them, not they by the situation: the whiche the Greekes coulde not obserue, for that being ruled by the situation, and varying the situation and forme, it was conuenient, that also they shoulde vary the maner of incamping, and the fashion of their lodgings. Therefore the Romaines, where the situation lacked strength they supplied the same with arte, and with industrie. And for that I in this my declaration, haue willed to imitate the Romaines, I will not departe from the maner of their incamping, yet not obseruing altogether their order, but taking the same parte, whiche seemeth vnto mee, to be meete for this present time. I haue told  
you

Howe the  
Greekes in-  
camped.

Howe the  
Romaines in  
camped.



you manye tymes, how the Romanes had in their con-  
 full armies, two Legions of Romayne men, whiche  
 were about a leuen thousande footemen, and sixe hun-  
 dred horsemen, and mozcouer they had an other a leuen  
 thousand footemen, sent from their friends in their aide:  
 noz in their armie they had neuer moze souldiours that  
 were straungers, then Romaynes, except horsemenne,  
 whom they cared not, though they were moze in nom-  
 ber then theirs: and in all their doinges, they vpd place  
 their Legions in the middest, and the aiders, on the sides  
 the whiche maner, they obserued also in incamping, as  
 by your selfe you maye reade, in those aucthours, that  
 write of their actes: and therefore I purpose not to shew  
 you distynally how they incamped, but to tell you onelye  
 with what order, I at this present would incampe my  
 army, wherby you shal then know, what part I haue  
 taken out of the Romayne maners. You knowe, that in  
 steede of two Romayne Legions, I haue taken two  
 mayne battailes of footemen, of sixe thousand footemen,  
 and thre hundred horsemen, profitable for a maine bat-  
 taile, and into what battailes, into what weapons, into  
 what names I haue deuided them: you knowe howe in  
 ordering the armie to marche, and to fighte, I haue not  
 made mention of other men, but onelye haue shewed,  
 howe that doubling the men, they needed not but to dou-  
 ble the orders: but minding at this presente, to  
 shewe you the maner of incamping, mee thinketh good  
 not to stande onely with two maine battailes, but to  
 bring together a iuste armye, made like vnto the Ro-  
 maines, of two mayne battailes, and of as manye mo  
 aiding men: the whiche I make, to the intente that the  
 forme of the incamping, maie be the moze perfecte, by  
 lodging a perfecte armye: whiche thing in the other  
 demonstrations, hath not seemed vnto mee so necessary.

Purposing then, to incampe a iuste army of foure & twen-  
 tie thousande footemen, & of two thousande good horse-  
 men,

The maner  
 of the incā-  
 ping of an  
 armie.

## The sixt Booke of the

men, being deuided into foure maine battailes, two of our owne men, and two of straungers. I woulde take this waye The situation being founde, where I woulde incampe, I woulde erecte the head standarde, and about it, I woulde marke out a quadzant, which shoulde haue euery side distant from it. xxxvij. yardes and a halfe, of whiche euery one of them shoulde lye, towarde one of the foure regions of heauen, as East, West, South, and North: betwæne the which space, I woulde that the Capitaynes lodging shoulde be appointed. And because I beleue that it is wisdome, to deuide the armed from the vnarmed, seeing y<sup>e</sup> so, for the most part the Romanes did, I woulde therefore separate the men, that were cumbered with any thing, from the vncombered. I woulde lodge all, or the greatest parte of the armed, on the side towarde the East, and the vnarmed, and the combed, on the West side, making East the head, and West the backe of the Campe, and South and North, shoulde be the flankes: and for to distinguishe the lodgings of the armed, I woulde take this waye. I woulde drawe a line from the head standarde, and lead it towarde the East, the space of five hundred x. yardes and a halfe: I woulde after, make two other lines, that shoulde place in the middelt the same, and shoulde bee as long as that, but distaunte eche of them from it a leuen yardes and a quarter: in the ende whereof, I woulde haue the East gate, and the space that is betwæne the two vttermoste lines, shoulde make a waye, that shoulde go from the gate, to the Capitaynes lodging, whiche shall come to bee xxij. yards and a halfe broad, and foure hundred lxxij. yardes and a halfe long, for the xxxvij. yardes and a halfe, the lodging of the Capitayne will take vp: and this shall bee called the Capitayne waye. Then there shall be made an other waye, from the South gate, to the North gate, and shall passe by the heade of the Capitayne waye, and leaue the Capitaynes lodging towarde the East, which

waye

The lodgig  
for the gene  
ral capitain.



waie shall be ix. hundred xxxij. yardes and a halfe long (foz the length thereof wilbe as much as the bzeadth of all the lodginges) and shall like wise be xxij. yardes and a halfe broad, and shall be called the crosse waie. Then so soone as the Capitains lodging, were appointed out, and these two waies, there shall be begun to be appointed out, the lodginges of our owne two mayne battails one of the which, I would lodge on the right hande of the Capitaynes waie, and the other, on the left: and therefore passing ouer the space, that the bzeadth of the crosse waie taketh, I would place xxxij. lodginges, on the left side of the Capitayne waie, and xxij. on the right side, leauing betwene the xvi. and the xvij. lodging, a space of xxij. yardes and a halfe, the which shoulde serue foz a waie ouerthwart, whiche shoulde runne ouerthwart, throughout all the lodginges of the mayne battailes, as in the distributing of them shall be seene.

Of these two orders of lodginges in the beginning of the head, whiche shall come to ioygne to the crosse waie, I would lodge the Capitayne of the men of armes, in the xv. lodginges, whiche on euerye side followeth next, their men of armes, where eche mayne battaile, hauing a hundred l. men of armes, it will come to fenne men of armes foz a lodging. The spaces of the Capitaynes lodginges, shoulde be in bzeadth xxx. and in length, vij. yardes and a halfe. And note that when so euer I saye bzeadth, it signifieth the space of the midst from South to North, and saying length, that whiche is from West to East. Those of the men of armes, shoulde be xi. yardes and a quarter in length, and xxij. yardes and a halfe in bzeadth. In the other xv. lodginges, that on euerye side shoulde followe, the whiche shoulde haue their beginning on the other side of the ouerthwarte waie, and whiche shall haue the verye same space, that those of the men of armes had, I would lodge the lighte hoysemen: whereof being a hundred

The lodgings for the men of armes, & their Capitaine.

Note, vvhich is bredth & vvhich length in the square cape.

The lodgings for the lighte hoysemen, & their capitaine.

## The sixt Booke of the

hundred and fiftie, it will come to tenne horsemen for a lodging, and in the xvi. that remaineth, I would lodge their Capitaine, geuing him the very same space, that is giuen to the Capitayne of the men of armes: and thus the lodgings of the horsemen of two maine battailes, will come to place in the middell the Capitayne waye, and geue rule to the lodgings of the footemen, as I shall declare. You haue noted howe I haue lodged the three hundred horsemen of euery mayne battaile with their Capitaynes, in xxxij lodgings placed on the Capitayne waye, hauing begun from the crosse waye, and howe from the xvi. to the xvij. there remaineth a space of xxij. yardes and a halfe, to make a waye ouerthwart. Minding therfore to lodge the twentie battailes, whiche the two ordinarie maine battailes haue, I would place the lodging of euery two battailes, behinde the lodgings of the horsemen, euery one of whiche, shoulde haue in length. xi. yardes and a quarter. & in breadth. xxii. yardes and a halfe, as those of the horsemens, and shoulde be ioyned on the hinder parte, that they shoulde touche the one the other. And in euery first lodging on euery side which commeth to lye on the crosse way, I would lodge the Constable of a battaile, which shoulde come to stand even with the lodging of the Capitayne of the men of armes, and this lodging shall haue onely of space for breadth xv. yardes, and for length seuen yardes and a halfe. In the other sixtene lodgings, that on euery side followeth after these, even vnto the ouerthwarte waye, I would lodge on euery parte a battaile of footemen, whiche being foure hundred and fiftie, there will come to a lodging. xxx. the other xv. lodgings, I would place continuallye on euery side on those of the lighte horsemen, with the verie same spaces, where I would lodge on euery part, an other battaile of footemen, and in the laste lodging, I would place on euery parte the Constable of the battaile, whiche will  
come

The lodgings  
for the footemen  
of two  
ordinarie  
maine battailes.

The lodgings  
for the constables.

The number  
of footemen  
appointed  
to euery  
lodging.



come to loynz with the same of the Capitaine of the  
righte hozsemen, with the space of . vii. yardes & a halfe  
foz length, and . xv. foz bredeth: and so these two firste  
orders of lodgynges, shall be halfe of hozsemen, & halfe  
of footemē. And soz that I woulde (as in the place therof  
of I haue tolde you) these hozsemenne shoulde bē all  
profitable, and soz this hauing no seruauentes which in  
kepyng the hozses, or in other necessary thinges might  
helpe them, I woulde that these footemen, who lodge be-  
hinde the hozse, shoulde bē bounde to helpe to prouide,  
and to kēpe them soz their maisters: and soz this to bē  
erempted from the other doinges of the Campe. The  
whiche maner, was obserued of the Romaines. Then  
leauing after these lodgynges on euerie parte, a space  
of . xxii. yardes and a halfe, which shoulde make a waie,  
that shoulde bē called the one, the firste waie on the  
righte hande, and on the other, the first waie on the lefte  
hand, I woulde pitche on euerie side an other order of  
xxxii. double lodgynges, which shoulde tourne their hin-  
der partes the one against the other with the verie same  
spaces, as those that I haue tolde you of, and deuided  
after the sixteenth in the verie same maner soz to make  
the ouerthwarte waie, where I woulde lodge on euery  
side .iiii. battailes of footemen, with their constables  
in both endes. Then leauing on euerye side an other  
space of . xxii. yardes and a halfe, that shoulde make a  
waie, whiche shoulde be called of the one side, the se-  
conde waie on the right hande, and on the other syde,  
the seconde waie on the lefte hande, I would place an  
other order on euerie side of . xxxii. double lodgynges,  
with the verie same distance and deuisions, where I  
would lodge on euerie side other .iiii. battailes with  
their Constables: and thus the hozsemenne and the  
bandes of the two ordinarie maine battailes, shoulde  
come to be lodged in thzē orders of lodgynges, on the  
one side of the capitaine waie, and in thzē other or-  
ders

## The sixt Booke of the

ders of lodgynges on the other side of the Capitaine waye. The two aiding maine battels (soz that I cause them to be made of the verie same nation) I woulde lodge them on euery parte of these two ordinarie maine battailes, with y<sup>e</sup> very same orders of double lodgynges, pitchyng firste one order of lodgynges, where should lodge halfe the horsemen, and halfe the foote men, distance. xxii. yardes & a halfe from the other, soz to make a way which should be called the one, the thirde waye on the right hande, and the other the thirde waie on the left hande. And after, I woulde make on euerie side, two other orders of lodgynges, in the verie same maner distinguished and ordained, as those were of y<sup>e</sup> ordinarie maine battelles, whiche shall make two other wayes, and they all should be called of the numbre, & of the hande, where they should be placed: in such wyse, that all this side of the armie, should come to be lodged in. xii. orders of double lodgynges, and in. xiii. wayes, reckenyng captaine waie, and crosse waie: I would there should remaine a space from the lodgynges to the Trench of. lxxv. yardes rounde aboute: and if you reckon al these spaces, you shal see that from y<sup>e</sup> midst of the Capitaines lodgyng to the easte gate, there is. D. x. yardes. Now there remaineth two spaces, whereof one is from the Capitaines lodgyng to the Southe gate, the other is from thense to y<sup>e</sup> North gate: whiche come to bee (either of them measuryng them from the pointe in the middell) .CCCC. lxxvi. yardes. Then takyng out of euerie one of these spaces xxxvii. yardes and a halfe, whiche the Capitaines lodgyng occupieth, and .xxiiii. yardes euerie waye soz a market place, and. xxii. yardes and a halfe soz a way that deuides euerie one of the saied spaces in the middell, and. lxxv. yardes, that is left on euerie parte betwæne the lodgynges and the Trench, there remaineth on euery side a space soz lodgynges of. CCC.

yardes



yardes bzoad, and lxxv. yardes long, measuring the length with the space that the Capitaynes lodging taketh vp. Deuiding then in the middelt the sayde length, there woulde be made on euery bande of the Capitayne. xl. lodgings xxxvij. yardes and a halfe long, and xv. bzoad, which will come to be in all lxxx. lodgings, wherin shall be lodged the heades of the maine battailes, the Treasurers, the Marshalles of the fielde, and all those that should haue office in the armie, leauing some boide for straungers that shoulde happen to come, and for those that shall serue for good will of the Capitayne. On the parte behinde the Capitaynes lodging, I woulde haue a way from South to North. xxij. yardes large, & should be called the head way, whiche shall come to be placed a long by the lxxx. lodgings aforesayde: for that this way, and the crosse way, shall come to place in the middelt betwene them both the Capitaynes lodging, and the lxxx. lodgings that be on the sides therof.

From this head way, and from ouer against the Capitaynes lodging, I would make an other way, whiche shoulde go from thence to the West gate, likewise bzoade xxij. yardes and a halfe, and shoulde aunswere in situation and in length to the Capitayne way, and should be called the market way. These two wayes being made, I woulde ordeyne the market place, where the market shall be kept, which I woulde place on the head of the market way ouer against the Capitaynes lodging, and ioyned to the head way, and I would haue it to be quadrant, and would assigne lxxxv. yardes and three quarters to a square: and on the righte bande and lefte bande, of the sayd market place, I would make two orders of lodgings where enery order shall haue eighte double lodgings, whiche shall take vp in length ix. yardes, and in bzeadth two & twentie yardes and a halfe, so that there shall come to be on euery bande of the maket place. xvi. lodgings that shall place the

The lodgings for the chief Capitaines of the maine battailes & for the treasurers, marshals and straungers.

## The sixt Booke of

Lodginges  
for the hor-  
semē, of the  
extraordina-  
rie maine  
battailes.

The lodgigs  
for the ex-  
traordinaire  
Pikes and  
Veliti.

same in the middelt which shall be in all xxxij. wherein  
I woulde lodge those hoysmen, which should remayne  
to the ayding mayne battailes: and when these should  
not suffice, I woulde assigne them: some of those lod-  
ginges that placeth betwēne them the Capitaynes lod-  
ging, and in especiall ye those, that lye towarde the  
Trenche. There resteth nowe to lodge the Pikes, and  
extraordinaire Veliti, that euery mayne battayle hath,  
which you knowe according to our order, howe euerye  
one hath besides the x. battailes a thousande extraordi-  
nary Pikes, and five C. Veliti: so that the two chiefe  
mayne battailes, haue two. M. extraordinaire Pikes,  
and a thousande extraordinary Veliti, and the ayders as  
many as those, so that yet there remayneth to be lodged  
vi. M. men, whom I woulde lodge all on the West side,  
and along the Trenche. When from the ende of the  
head waye, towarde the South, leauing the space of lxxv.  
yardes from them to the Trenche, I woulde place an  
order of five double lodginges, which in all should take  
vp lvi. yardes in length, and xxx. in breadth: so that the  
breadth denided, there will come to euery lodging a lviij.  
yardes and a quarter for length, and for breadth two  
and twentie yardes and a halfe. And because there  
shall be tenne lodginges, I will lodge thre hundred  
men, appointing to euery lodging thirtie men: lea-  
uing then a space of thre and twentie yardes and a  
quarter, I would place in like wise, and with like spa-  
ces an other order of five double lodginges, and agayne  
an other, till there were five orders of five double lod-  
ginges: which will come to be fiftie lodginges placed by  
right line on the South side, euery one of them distant  
from the Trenche. lxxv. yardes, whiche will lodge fiftie  
hundred men. Turning after on the lefte hande  
towarde the West gate, I would pitch in all the same  
tracte, whiche were from them to the sayde gate, fives  
other orders of double lodginges, with the verie same  
spaces



spaces, and with the verie same maner: true it is, that from the one order to the other, there shall not be moze then a leuen yardes and a quarter of space; wherin shall be lodged also sixtēne hundred men: and thus from the South gate to the West, as the Trench tourneth, in a hundred lodgings deuided in tenne rewes of five double lodgings in a rowe, there will bee lodged all the Pikes and extraordinary Veliti of the chiefe maine battailes. And so from the West gate to the South as the Trench tourneth euen in the very same maner in other tenne rewes of ten lodgings in a rowe, there shall bee lodged the Pikes, and extraordinarye Veliti of the ayding mayne battailes. Their heades or their constables maye take those lodgings, that shall seeme vnto them moste commodious, on the parte towardes the Trench. The artillerie, I would disperse throught out all the campe, along the bancke of the Trench: and in all the other space that shoulde remayne towardes West, I would lodge all the vnarm'd, and place all the impedimentes of the Campe. And it is to bee vnderstande, that vnder this name of impedimentes (as you knowe) the antiquitie mente all the same trayne, and all those thinges, which are necessarye for an army, besides the Souldiours: as are Carpenters, Smithes, Masons, Ingeners, Bombardiers, although that those mighte bee counted in the nombze of the armed, herdesmen with their herdes of mottions and beues, whiche for victualling of the armye, are requisite: and mozeouer maisters of all sciences, together with publicke carriages of the publicke munition, whiche per sayne as well to victualling, as to arming.

Now I would not distinguish these lodgings particularly, only I would marke out the waies which shoulde not bee occupied of them: then the other spaces, that betwene the wayes shall remayne, which shall be foure, I would appointe them generallye, for all the

Howe the artillerie must be placed in the Campe.

Lodgings for the vnarmed men, & the places that are appointed for the impedimentes of the campe.

## The sixth Booke of

saide impedimentes that is one for the herdemmen , the other for artificers and craftes men, the thirde for publicke carriages of victuals, the fourth for the munition of armour and weapons. The wayes which I woulde should be left without occupying them, shall be the market waye, the heade waye , and moze over a waye that should be called the midwaye, whiche should go from North to South, and should passe through the middlest of the market way, which from the West part, should serue for the same purpose that the ouerthwart waye doth on the East part. And besides this , a waye whiche shall go about on the hinder parte , a long the lodgings of the Pikes and extraordinarye Meliti , and all these wayes shall bee two and twentie yardes and a halfe broad. And the Artillerie , I woulde place a long the Trenches of the Campe, rounde about the same.

Baptiste. I confesse that I vnderstande not , nor I beleue that also to saye so, is any shame vnto mee , this being not my exercise: not withstanding, this order pleaseth mee muche : onely I woulde that you should declare mee these doubtles: The one , why you make the waye , and the spaces about so large. The other, that troubleth mee moze , is these spaces , whiche you appointe out for the lodgings , howe they ought to be vsed.

Fabritio. You must note, that I make all the waies xxij. yardes and a halfe broad , to the intente that thou rowe them, maye go a battaile of men in araye, where if you remember well, I tolde you how euery bande of men, taketh in breadth betwene xxiiij. and xxij. yardes of space to march or stande in. Nowe where the space that is betwens the Trenches, and the lodgings, is lxxv. yardes broad , the same is moste necessarye, to the intent they maye there order the battailes , and the artillerie, both to conducte by the same the prizes, and to haue space to retire them selues with new trenches,

and



and newe fortification if neede were: The lodgings also, stande better so farre from the ditches, being the more out of daunger of fires, and other thinges, which the enemye, might thowle to hurt them. Concerning the second demaunde, my intent is not that euery space of mee marked out, bee couered with a pavilion onelye, but to be vsed, as tourneth commodious to such as lodge there, either with more or with lesse Tentes, so y they go not out of the boundes of the same. And soz to marke out these lodgings, there oughte to bee moste conning men, and most excellent Architectours, whom, so soone as the Capitayne hath chosen the place, may know how to giue it the fashon, & to distribut it, distinguishing the waies, deuinding the lodgings with Coardes and staues, in suche practised wise, that straight way, they may be ordayned, and deuinded: and to minde that there grow no confusion, it is conuenient to tourne the Campe, alwaies one waye, to the intent that euerye man maye knowe in what waye, in what space he hath to finde his lodging: and this oughte to bee obserued in euery time, in euerye place, & after such maner, that it seme a moouing Citie, the which where so euer it goeth, carrieth with it the verve same waies, the verve same habitacions, and the very same aspectes, that it had at the first: The which thing they cannot obserue, whome seeking strong situacions, must chaunge forme, according to the variacion of the grounde: but the Romaynes in the playne, made strong the place where they incamped with trenches, and with Kampires, because they made a space about the campe, and befoze the same a ditche, ordinarie broad foure yardes and a halfe, and deepe about two yardes and a quater, the whiche spaces, they increased, according as they intended to tarve in a place and according as they feared the enemye. I soz my parte at this presente, woulde not make the listes, if I intende not to Winter in a place: yet I woulde make  
the

The campe  
ought to be  
alwaies of  
one fashon.

## The sixth Booke of

the Trenches and the bancke no lesse, then the foresayd, but greater, according to necessitie. Also, considering the artillerie, I woulde intrench upon euery corner of the Campe, a halfe circle of grounde, from whence the artillerie might flanke, whome so euer should seeke to come ouer the Trenches. In this practise in knowing howe to ordayne a campe, the Souldiours ought also to be exercised, and to make with them the officers expert, that are appointed to marke it out, and the Souldiours readye to knowe their places: noz nothing therin is difficulte, as in the place therof shall be declared: wherfore I will go forward at this time to the warde of the campe, because without distribution of the watche, all the other pain that hath bene taken, should be vaine.

Baptiste. Before you passe to the watche, I desire that you woulde declare vnto mee, when one woulde pitche his campe nere the enemye, what waye is vsed: for that I knowe not, howe a man maye haue tyme, to be able to ordayne it without perill.

Fabritio. You shall vnderstande this, that no Capitayne will lye nere the enemye, except hee, that is disposed to fighte the fielde, when so euer his aduersarye will: and when a capitaine is so disposed, there is no perill, but ordinary: for that the two partes of the armye, stand alwayes in a readinesse, to fighte the battaile, and the other maketh the lodgings. The Romaynes in this case, gaue this order of fortifying the campe, vnto the Triarij: and the Præcipiti, & the Alati, stood in armes. This they did, for as much as the Triarij, being the last to fight, might haue time ynough, if the enemye came, to leaue the worke, and to take their weapons, and to get them into their places. Therefore, according vnto the Romaynes maner, you oughte to cause the Campe to be made of those battailes, whiche you will set in the hinder parte of the armye, in the place of the Triarij. But let vs tourne to reason of the watche.



I thinke I haue not founde, amongst the antiquitie, that for to warde the campe in the night, they haue kepte watche without the Trench, distaunte as they vse nowe a daies, whome they call Scoutes: the which I beleue they did: thinking that the armie might easely be deceiued, through the difficultie, y<sup>e</sup> is in seeing them againe, for that they might be either corrupted, or oppressed of the enemye: So that to trust either in parte, or altogether on them, they iudged it perillous. And therefore, al the strength of the watche, was within y<sup>e</sup> trench, whiche they did with all diligence keepe, and with moste greate order punished with death, whome soeuer obserued not the same order: the which howe it was of them ordained, I will tell you no other wise, leaste I should be tedious vnto you, being able by your selfe to see it, if as yet you haue not scene it: I shall onely briefly tell that, which shall make for my purpose. I would cause to stand ordinarily euery night, the thirde parte of the armie armed, & of the same, the sowerth parte alwaies on foote, whome I would make to be distributed, throughout all the haunches, & throughout all the places of the armie, with double warde, placed in euery quadrant of the same: Of which, parte should stande still, part continually should goe from the one corner of the Campe, to the other: and this order, I would obserue also in the daie, when I should haue the enemye nere.

The antiquitie vsed no Scoutes.

The watche and warde of the campe.

Concerning the geuing of the watche worde, and renuyng the same euery euening, and to do the other thinges, which in like watches is vsed, because they are thinges well inough knowen, I will speake no further of them: onely I shall remember one thing, for that it is of greate importaunce, and which causeth great sauegarde obseruing it, and not obseruing it, much harme: The which is, that there be obserued greate diligence, to knowe at night, who lodgeth not in the Campe, and who cometh a newe; and this is

Diligence ought to be vsed, to knowe whoo lieth oute of the Campe.

## The sixth Booke of

and vwho  
they be that  
cometh of  
nevve.

Claudius  
Nero.

The iustice  
that ought  
to be in a  
campe.

The faultes  
that the an-  
tiquitie pu-  
nished vvith  
death.

an easie thing to see who lodgeth, with the same order that we haue appointed: for as much as euery lodging hauing the determined number of menne, it is an easie matter to see, if they lacke, or if there be more men: and when they come to be absente without licence, to punish them as Fugitiues, and if there be more, to vnderstande what they be, what they make there, and of their other condicions. This diligence maketh that y enemy cannot but with difficultie, practise with thy captiues, and haue knowledge of thy counsayles: which thing if of y Romaines, had not been diligently obserued, Claudius Nero could not, hauing Aniball nere him, departed from his Campe, which he had in Lucania, and to go and to retourne from Marca, without Aniball shoulde haue firste heard thereof some thing. But it suffiseth not to make these orders good, excepte they be caused to be obserued, with a greate seueritie: for y there is nothing that would haue more obseruacion, thē is requisit in an armie: therefore the lawes for y main-tenaunce of the same, ought to be sharpe & harde, and y executour thereof moste harde. The Romaines punished with death him that lacked in the watch, he that forsoke the place that was giuen him to fighte, he that caried any thing, hidde out of the Campe, if any manne should saie, that he had done some worthy thing in the fight, and had not done it, if any had sought without the commaundement of the Capitaine, if any had for feare, caste awaie his weapons: and when it happened, that a Cohorte, or a whole Legion, had committed like fault, because they would not put to death all, they yet tooke all their names, and did put them in a bagge, and then by lotte, they dyne out the tenth parte, and so those were put to death: the whiche punishmente, was in suche wise made, that though euery man did not seele it, euery man notwithstanding feared it: and because where be greate punishmentes, there ought to be also



so rewardes, myndyng to haue merite at one instant, to feare and to hope, they had apointed rewardes to euery worthy acte, as he that fighting, saued the life of one of his Citezens, to him that first leapte vpon the walles of the enemies Towne, to him that entered firste into the Campe of the enemies, to him that had in fighting hurte, or slaine the enemye, he that had stroken him from his horse: and so euery vertuous acte, was of the Countsailes knowen and rewarded, and openly of euery man praised, and suche as obtained giftes, for anye of these thinges, besides the glorie and fame, whiche they got amongst the souldiours, after when they returned into their countrey, with solemne pompe, and with greate demonstration among their frēdes & kinsfolkes, they shewed them. Therefore it was no maruaile though the same people gotte so muche dominion, hauing so muche obseruation in punishmente, and rewardes towardes them, whome either for their wel doing, or for their ill doing, shoulde deserue either praise or blame: Of whiche thinges it were conueniente to obserue the greater parte. For I thinke not good to keepe secreete, one manner of punishmente of them obserued, whiche was, that so sone as the offendour, was before the Tribune, or Counsaile conuicted, he was of the same lightly stroken with a rodde: after the whiche striking, it was lawfull for the offendour to flie, and to al the Souldiours to kill him: so that straight waie, euery man threw at him either stones, or darts, or with other weapons, stroke him in suche wise, that he wente but little waye a liue, and moste fewe escaped, and to those that so escaped, it was not lawfull for them to retourne home, but with so many incommodities, & suche greate shame and ignomie, that it shoulde haue beene much better for him to haue died. This maner is seene to be almoste obserued of the Suiizers, who make it condēned to be put to death openly of thother souldiours, & whiche

VWhere greate punishmentes be, there oughte likewise to be greate rewardes.

It was no maruel that the romains became mightie Princes.

The sixth Booke of

A meane to  
punish and  
execute iu-  
stice, with-  
out raising  
tumultes.

Manlius Ca-  
pitolinus.

on 1000 of  
the  
the  
the

Souldiours  
svoren to  
kepe the dis-  
cipline of  
warre.

vwomen &  
idel games,  
were not suf-  
fered by the  
antiquitie, to  
be in their  
armies.

is well considered, and excellently done: for that intend-  
ing, that one bee not a defendour of an euill doer,  
the greatest reamedie that is founde, is to make him  
punisher of the same: because otherwise, with other re-  
specte he fauonreth him: where when he himselfe is  
made executioner: with other desire, he desireth his pu-  
nishment, then when the execution commeth to an o-  
ther. Therefore minding, not to haue one fauoured in  
his faulte of the people, a great remedie it is, to make  
that the people, may haue him to iudge. For the greater  
proue of this, the insample of Manlius Capitolinus  
mighte be bzoughte, who being accused of the Senate,  
was defended of the people, so long as they were not  
iudge, but becoming arbitratours in his cause, they con-  
demned him to death. This is then a waye to punish,  
without raising tumultes, and to make iustice to bee  
keepte: and for as much as to bzidel armed men, neither  
the feare of the lawes, nor of men suffice not, the anti-  
quitie ioyned thereunto the auctoritie of God: and ther-  
foze with most great Ceremonies, they made their soul-  
diours to sweare, to kepe the discipline of warre, so that  
doing contrarie wise, they shoulde not onely haue to  
feare the Lawes, and men, but God: and they vsed all  
diligence, to fill them with Religion.

Baptiste. Dyd the Romaynes permit, that women  
mighte bee in their armies, or that there mighte be vsed  
these ydle playes, which they vse nowe a daies?

Fabritio. They prohibited the one and the other,  
and this prohibition was not muche difficulte: for that  
there were so many exercises, in the whiche they keepte  
euerye daye the Souldiours, some whiles particularely  
some whiles generally occupied, that they had no time  
to thinke, either on Venus, or on playes, nor on anye o-  
ther thing, whiche sedicious & vnyprofitable Souldiours

Do. Baptiste. I am herein satisfied, but tell mee, when the  
armie



armie had to remouue, what order kept they?

Order in the remouuing the armie by the soundes of a trumpet

Fabritio. The chiefe Trumpet sounded thre times, at the first sounde, they tooke vp the Tentes, and made the packes, at the seconde, they laded the cartiage, at the thirde, they remouued in the same maner asofesayde, with the impedimentes after euery part of armed men, placing the Legions in the middeste: and therfoze you ought to cause after the same sozte, an extraordinarye mayne battaile to remouue: and after that, the particular impedimētes thereof, and with those, the fourth part of the publicke impedimentes, which should be all those that were lodged in one of those partes, which a litle asfoze wee declared: and therfoze it is conuenient, to haue euery one of them, appointed to a maine battaile, to the entente that the armie remouuing, euery one might knowe his place in marching: and thus euerye maine battaile ought to go a waye with their owne impedimentes, and with the fourth part of the publicke impedimentes, following after in such maner maner, as wee shewed that the Romaines marched.

Baptiste. In pitching the Campe, had they other respectes, then those you haue tolde?

Fabritio. I tell you again, that the Romaines when they incampet, would be able to keepe the accustomed fashion of their maner, the whiche to obserue, they had no other respecte: but concerning soz other considerations; they had two principall, the one, to incampe them selues in a wholesome place: the other, to place them selues, where the enemye could not besiege them no: take from them the waye to the water, oz victuales. Then soz to auoyde infirmitie, they dyd fly from places Fennie, oz subiecte to hurtfull windes: whiche they knewe not so well, by the qualitie of the situation, as by the face of the inhabitours: soz when they sawe them euill coloured, oz swollen, oz full of other infection, they would be not lodge there: concerning the other

Respects to be had for in camping.

How to chuse a place to incampe.

## The sixth Booke of

How to a-  
uoidē disea-  
ses from the  
armie.

The vwon-  
derfull com-  
moditie of  
exercise.

The prou-  
ision of vic-  
tualles that  
oughte al-  
uayes to be  
in a readines  
in an armie.

respecte to prouide not to be besieged, it is requisite to consider the nature of the place, where the friendes lye, and where the enemies, and of this to make a cōiecture, if thou maist be besieged or no: and therefore it is meete, that the Capitaine be moste experte, in the knowledge of situations of countries, and haue aboute him diuers men, that haue the very same expertenes. They auoid also diseases, and famishment, with causing the armie to keepe no misrule, for that to purpose to maintaine it in health, it is needefull to prouide, that y<sup>e</sup> souldiours may sleepe vnder tētes, that they may lodge where be Trees, that make shadowe, where wōdde is for to dresse their meate, that they go not in y<sup>e</sup> heate, and therefore they must be dya wēn out of the Campe, befoze daie in Summer, and in Winter, to take hēde, that they marche not in the Snowe, and in the Frost, withoute hauing cōmoditie to make fire, and not to lack necessa- rie apparel, noz to drinke noughtie water: those that fall sick by chaunce, make them to be cured of Whilitiōs: be- cause a Capitaine hath no remēdie, when he hath to fight with sicknes, and with an enemy: but nothing is so profitable, to maintaine the armie in health, as is the exercise: and therefore the antiquitie euerie daye, made them to exercise: whereby is seene howe much exercise auailēth: for that in the Campe, it keepesth thē in health, and in the fight victozious. Concerning famishment, it is necessary to se, that the enemy hinder thē not of thy victualles, but to prouide where thou mayst haue it, and to se that the same whiche thou haste, be not losse: and therefore it is requisite, that thou haue al- uayes in prouision with the armie, sufficiente victu- all for a monethe, and then remouing into some strong place, thou must take order with thy nerte friendes, that daily they maye prouide for thē, and aboute all thinges beētowe the victuall with diligence, geuing euerie daye to euerie manne, a reasonable measure, and obserue after



after suche sorte this pointe, that it disoꝛder thee not: be-  
cause all other thing in the warre, maye with time bee  
ouercome, this onely with time ouercommeth thee: noꝛ  
there shall neuer any enemye of thine, who maye ouer-  
come thee with famishment, y will seeke to ouercome  
thee with yron. For that though the victoꝛy be not so ho-  
nourable, yet it is moze sure and moze certayne: When,  
the same armye cannot auoide famishment, that is not  
an obseruer of iustice, whiche licenciouslye consumeth  
what it list: because the one disoꝛder, maketh that the  
victualls commeth not vnto you. the other, that such vic-  
tuall as commeth, is vnprofitably consumed: therefore  
the antiquitie oꝛdained, that they should speede the same,  
whiche they gaue, and in the same time when they ap-  
pointed: soꝛ that no Souldiour did eate, but when the  
Capitayne did eate: The which howe muche it is obser-  
ued of the armies nowe a dayes, euerye man knoweth  
and woꝛthylye they can not bee called men of good oꝛder  
and sober, as the antiquitie, but lasciuious & dzunkardes.

Baptiste. You sayde in the beginning of oꝛdering  
the Campe, that you woulde not stande onelye vpon  
two mayne battailes, but woulde take foure, soꝛ to  
shewe howe a iuste armye incamped: therefore I woulde  
you should tell mee two things, the one, when I should  
haue moze oꝛ lesse men, how I ought to incampe them,  
the other, what number of Souldiours shoulde suf-  
fice you to fighte againste what so euer enemye that  
were.

Fabricio. To the first question I aunswere you, that  
if the armye bee moze oꝛ lesse, then foure oꝛ sixe thou-  
sande Souldiours, the oꝛders of lodgings, maye bee  
taken awaye oꝛ ioyned, so manye as sufficeth: and with  
this waye a man may go in moze, and in lesse, into in-  
finite: Notwithstanding the Romaynes, when  
they ioyned together two consull armies, they made  
two campes, and they tourned the partes of the vnar-

Howe to lod-  
ge in the cap  
more or les-  
se men, then  
the ordinary

## The sixth Booke of

med, the one againſte the other. Concerning the ſecond queſtion, I ſay vnto you, that the Romaines ordi- nary armie, was about xliij. M. ſouldiours: but when they were driuen to fight againſte the greateſt power y might be, the moſt that they put together, were. l. M. With this number, they did ſet againſte two hundred thouſand Frenchemen, whome aſſaulted them after the firſt warre, that they had with the Carthageners. With this verie ſame number, they foughte againſte Annibal. And you muſt note, that the Romaines, and the Grekes, haue made warre with ſeue, fozte ſyng the me- ſclues throughe order, and throughe arte: the Weſt, and the eaſt, haue made it with multitude: But the one of theſe nations, doth ſerue with naturall furie, as do the men of the Weſt partes, the other throughe the greate obedience which thoſe men haue to their king. But in Grece, and in Italy, being no naturall fury, noz the nat- urall reuerſe towardeſ their king, it hath bene neceſ- ſary for them to learne the diſcipline of warre, y which is of ſo muche force, that it hath made that a ſeue, haue bene able to ouercome the furie, and the naturall ob- ſtinatenefſe of manie. Therefore I ſaye, that min- ding to imitate the Romaines, and the Grekes, the nu- ber of .l. M. ſouldiours, ought not to be paſſed, but ra- ther to take leſſe: becauſe manie make confuſion, noz ſuffer not the diſcipline to be obſerued, and the orders learned, and Pirrus uſed to ſaye, that with .xv. thou- ſande men he woulde aſſaile the worlde: but let vs paſſe to an other parte. We haue made this oure armie to wiſane a field and ſhe wed the trauailes, that in the ſame fight may happen: we haue it made to march, & declared of what impedimentes in marching it maye be diſtur- bed: and finally we haue lodged it: where not onely it ought to take a littell reſte of the labours paſſed, but alſo to thinck howe the warre ought to be ended: for that in the lodgings, is handeled many thinges, inſpecially thy

The number  
of men that  
an armye  
ought to be  
made of, to  
be able to  
fighte vwith  
the puillan-  
reſte enemye  
that is.

Pirrus.



thy enemies as yet remayning in the field, and in suspected Townes, of whome it is good to be assured, and those that be enemies to overcome them: therefore it is necessarie to come to this demonstration, and to passe this difficultie with the same glorie, as hitherto we haue warred. Therefore comming to particuler matters,

I saye that if it should happen, that thou wouldest haue many men, or many people to doe a thing, which were to thee profitable, and to them greate huite, as should be to breake downe the wall of their citie, or to sende into exile many of them, it is necessarie for thee, either to beguile them in suche wise that euery one beleue not that it toucheth him: so that succouring not the one the other they maye finde them selues all to be oppressed without remedie, or els vnto all to commaunde the same, which they oughte to do in one selfe daye, to the intente that euery man beleuing to be alone, to whome the commaundement is made, maye thincke to obeye and not to remedie it: and so withoute tumulte thy commaundement to be of euery man executed. If thou shouldeste suspecte the fidelitie of anie people, & wouldest assure thee, and ouercome them at vnwares, for to colour thy intente moze easelye, thou canst not do better, then to counsell with them of some purpose of thine, desiring their aide, and to seeme to intend to make an other enterpryse, and to haue thy minde farre from thinking on them: the which will make, that they shall not thincke on their owne defence, beleuing not that thou purposest to hurte them, and they shall geue thee commoditie, to be able easely to satisfie thy desire.

When thou shouldest perceiue, that there were in thine armie some, that vsed to aduertise thy enemy of thy deuises, thou canst not do better, minding to take commoditie by their traitorous mindes, then to commeyn with them of those thinges, that thou wilt not do, and those that thou wilt do, to keepe secreete, and to saye

Hovve to  
cause me to  
do such a  
thing as should  
be profitable  
for thee  
& hurtfull,  
to them fel-  
ues.

Hovve to o-  
uercome me  
at vnwares.

Hovv to tur-  
ne to com-  
moditie the do-  
ings of such  
as vse to ad-  
uertise thy  
enemy of  
thy procea-  
dings.

to

## The sixth Booke of

to doubt of thinges, that thou doubtest not, and those of whiche thou doubtest, to hide: the whiche shall make the enemy to take some enterprize in hande, believing to knowe thy deuises, whereby easly thou mayest beguile and oppresse him. If thou shouldst intende (as Claudius Nero did) to diminish thy armye, sending helpe to some friende, and that the enemy should not be aware therof, it is necessary not to diminish the lodgings, but to maintaine the signes, & the orders whole, making the very same fires, and the very same wards throughout all the campe, as were wont to be afoze.

How to order the campe that the enemy shall not perceiue whether the same be diminished, or increased.

Likewise if with thy armye there should ioyne new men, and wouldest that the enemy should not knowe that thou werest ingrossed, it is necessary not to increase the lodgings: Because keeping secreete doings and deuises, hath alwaies bene most profitable.

A saying of Metellus.

Metellus being with an armie in Hispaignie, to one, who asked him what he woulde doe the next daye, answered, that if his sherte knew therof, he would bourn it. Marcus Craullus, vnto one, whome asked him, when the armie should remoue, sayde believest thou to be alone not to here the trumpet: If thou shouldst desire to

Marcus Craullus.

How to vnderstande the secretes of thy enemy.

vnderstande the secretes of thy enemy, and to know his orders, some haue vsed to sende ambassadours, and with them in seruantes apparel, moste expertest men in warre: whom hauing taken occasion to see the enemies armie, and to consider his strength and weakenesse, it hath geuen them oppoztunitie to ouercome him. Some haue sent into exile one of their familiars, & by meanes of the same, hath knowen the deuises of his aduersarye. Also like secretes are vnderstode of the enemies when for this effecte there were taken any prisoners.

A policie of Marius, to vnderstande how he might trust the Frenchmen.

Marius whiche in the warre that he made with the Cimbrie, for to knowe the sayeth of those Frenchmen, who then inhabited Lombardie, and were in leage with the Romaine people, sent them letters open, and sealed



sealed: and in the open he wrote, that they should not open the sealed, but at a certaine time, and befoze the same time demaunding them againe, and finding them opened, knewe thereby that they: faith was not to be trusted. Some Captaines, being inuaded, haue not desired to go to meeete the enemy, but haue gone to assaulte his countrey, and constrained him to returne to defende his owne home: The whiche many times hath come well to passe, for that those souldiours beginning to fill them selues with booties, and confidence to ouercome, shall some make the enemies souldiours to waxe afraide, when they supposing them selues conquerours, shall vnderstande to become losers: So that to him that hath made this diuersion, manye times it hath proued well. But onely it may be done by him, which hath his countrey stronger then that of the enemyes, because when it were other wise, he shoulde go to leese. It hath bene often a profitable thing to a Capitayne, that hath bene besieged in his lodgings by the enemye, to moue an intreatie of agreemente, and to make truse with him for certaine dayes: the whiche is wonte to make the enemies more negligente in all doinges: so that auayling thæ of their negligence, thou mayst easely haue occacion to gette thæ out of theyr handes. But this waye Silla deliuered him selfe twice from the enemies and with the verie same deceipte, Asdruball in Hispanie gotte oute of the foze of Claudious Nero, who had besieged him. It helpeth also to deliuer a man oute of the daunger of the enemy, to do some thing beside the foze sayde, that maye keepe him at a baye: this is done in two maners, either to assaulte him with parte of thy power, so that he being attentiuie to the same fighte, maye geue commoditie to the reste of thy men to bee able to saue them selues, or to cause to rise some newe accidente, which for the straungenesse of the thing, maye make him to maruell, and for this occacion to

What some Capitaines haue done when their countrey hath bene inuaded of enemyes.

to make the enemye negligente in his doinges.

Silla.

Asdrubal.

## The sixt Booke of

**The policie of Aniball,** vvhcreby he escaped out of the danger of Fabius Maximus. **A capitaine** must deuise how to deuide the force of his enemies.

**Howe to cause the enemye to haue in suspect his most trusty men.**

**Anibal.**

**Coriolanus.**

**metellus againste Iugurte.**

**A practise of the Romaine oratours, to bring Anibal out of credit vwith Antiochus.** **Howe to cause the enemye to deuide his power.**

stande doubtfull, and still: as you knowe howe Anniball dyd, who being inclosed of Fabius Maximus, tied in the nighte small Bauens kindeled betwene the hoznes of manie Oxen, so that Fabius astonied at the strangeness of the same sighte, thoughte not to let him at all the passage. A Capitayne oughte among all other of his affaires, with all subtiltie to deuise to deuide the force of the enemye, eyther with making him to suspecte his owne menne, in whome he trusteth, or to geue him occasion, that he maye seperate his menne, and thereby to become moze weake. The firste waye is done with keeping safe the thinges of some of those whiche he hath aboute him, as to saue in the warre theyr menne and theyr possessions, rendering them theyr childzen, or other theyr necessaries withoute raunsome. You knowe that Anniball hauing burned all the fieldes aboute Rome, he made onely to be reserued safe those of Fabius Maximus. You knowe howe Coriolanus comming with an armie to Rome, preserued the possessions of the Nobilitie, and those of the comminalltie he burned, and sacked. Metellus hauing an armie againste Iugurte, all the oratours, whiche of Iugurte were sente him, were required of him, that they woulde geue him Iugurte prisoner, and after to the very same men wyting letters of the verie same matter, wrought in such wise, that in shorthe time Iugurte hauing in suspecte all his counsellours, in diuers maners put them to death. Anniball being fledde to Antiochus, the Romaine oratours practised with him so familiarlye, that Antiochus being in suspecte of him, trusted not any moze after to his counsellors. Concerning to deuide the enemies men, there is no moze certainer waie, then to cause their countrey to be assaulted, to the intente that being constrained to go to defende the same, they maye forsake the warre. This waye Fabius bled hauing againste his

armye



armie the power of the Frenchmen, of the Tuscans, Am-  
 byzies and Sannites. Titus Didius hauing a fewe men  
 in respecte to those of the enemies, and looking for a le-  
 gion from Rome, and the enemies purposing to go to in-  
 counter it, to the intente that they shoulde not go, cau-  
 sed to be noised thzough all his armye, that hee intended  
 the nexte daye to fighte the fielde with the enemies: af-  
 ter hee vsed meanes, that certayne of the prisoners, that  
 he had taken afoze, had occasion to runne awaye. Who  
 declaring the order that the Consull had taken to fighte  
 the nexte daye, by reason wherof the enemies being a-  
 frayde to deminish their owne strength, went not to in-  
 counter the same legion, and by this waye they were  
 conducted safe. The which meanes serueth not to de-  
 uide the force of the enemies, but to augmente a mans  
 owne. Some haue vsed to deuide the enemies force,  
 by letting him to enter into their countrie, and in pzoofe  
 haue let him take many towne, to the intent that put-  
 ting in the same garnisons, he might thereby diminishe  
 his power, and by this waye hauing made him weake,  
 haue assaulted and ouercome him. Some other min-  
 ding to go into one prouince, haue made as though  
 they woulde haue inuaded an other, and vsed so muche  
 diligence, that sodainlye entring into the same, where  
 it was not doubted that they woulde enter, they haue  
 firste wonne it: befoze the enemye coulde haue time to  
 succoure it: for that thy enemye being not sure, whe-  
 ther thou purposest to tourne backe, to the place firste  
 of the thzeatened, is constrained not to forsake the  
 one place, to succour the other, and so manye tymes he  
 defendeth neither the one noz the other. It importeth  
 besides the sayde thinges to a Capitayne, if there  
 growe sedition or disorde among the Souldiours, to  
 knowe with arte howe to ertinguishe it: The beste  
 waye is to chastice the heades of the faultes, but it  
 muste be done in such wise, that thou mayest first haue

How Titus  
 Didius staid  
 ed his ene-  
 mies that  
 were going  
 to incoüter  
 a legion of  
 men that  
 were com-  
 ming in his  
 aide.

How some  
 haue caused  
 the enemye  
 to deuide  
 his force.

A policie to  
 win the ene-  
 mies coun-  
 trie before  
 he be avvare

How to re-  
 forme sedi-  
 tion and dis-  
 corde.

## The sixt Booke of

oppressed them, befoze they be able to be aware : The waye is, if they be distaunt from thee, not onelye to call the offenders , but together with them all the other , to the entent that not belieuing, that it is for any cause to punish them, they become not contumelious , but giue commoditie to the execution of the punishment : When they be present, thou oughtest to make thy selfe strong with those that be not in faulte , and by meane of their helpe to punish the other. When there happeneth discorde among them, the beste waye is, to bring them to the perill, the feare wherof is wounte alwayes to make them agree. But that, which aboue all other thing kepeth the armie in vnitie, is the reputation of the Capitayne, the which onelye groweth of his vertue : because neither blood, noz auctority gaue it euer without vertue. And the chiefe thing, which of a captayne is looked for to be done, is, to keepe his Souldiours punished, and paid: for that when so euer the paye lacketh , it is conuenient that the punishment lacke : because thou canst not correcte a Souldiour , that robbeth , if thou doest not paye him , noz the same minding to liue , can not abstayne from robbing : but if thou payest him, and punishest him not , hee becommeth in euerye condition insolente : For that thou becommeth of small estimation , where thou chauncest not to be able to maintayne the dignitie of thy degre, and not maintayning it, there foloweth of necessitie tumult, and discorde which is the ruine of an armie. Olde Capitaynes had a trouble, of the whiche the presente be almoste free, whiche was to interprete to their purpose the sinister auguries : because if there fell a thunderbolte in an armie, if the Sunne were darkened or the Moone, if there came an earthquake, if the Capitayne either in getting vp, or in lighting of his horse fell, it was of his souldiours interpreted sinisterously : And it ingendred in them so much feare, that coming to fight the field, easly they should

The benefit that the reputation of the capitaine causeth vvhich is onelye gotten by vertue.

The chiefe thing that a captaine ought to do.

When paye wanteth, punishment is not to be executed.

The inconuenience of not punishing.



Shoulde haue losse it : and therefore the auncient Capitaynes so soone as a like accidente grewe, either they shewd the cause of the same, and reduced it to a naturall cause, or they interpreted it to their purpose. Cesar falling in Africa, in coming of the Sea, sayde, Africa I haue taken thee. Dozeouer manye haue declared the cause of the obscuring of the Moone, and of earthquakes: whiche thing in our time cannot happen, as well because our me be not so superstitious, as also for that our Religion taketh a waye altogether suche opinions: all be it when they shoulde chaunce, the orders of the antiquitie oughte to be imitated. When either famishment or other naturall necessitie, or humaine passion, hath broughte thy enemye to an vtter desperation, and he driuen of the same, cometh to fighte with thee, thou oughtest to stande within thy campe, and as muche as lieth in thy power, to flye the fighte. So the Lacedemonians did againste the Masionians, so Cesar dyd againste Afranio, and Petrio. Fuluius being Consul, againste the Cimbrians, made his horsemen manye dayes continually to assaulte the enemies, and considered howe they issued oute of their campe for to followe them: wherfore he set an ambush behinde the Campe of the Cimbrians, and made them to be assaulted of his horsemen, and the Cimbrians issuing oute of their campe for to followe them. Fuluis gotte it, and sacked it. It hath bene of great vtilitie to a Capitayne, hauing his army nere to the enemies armie, to sende his men with the enemies ansignes to robbe, and to burne his owne countrey, wherby his enemies believing those to be menne, whiche are come in theyr ayde, haue also runne to helpe to make them the praye: and for this disordering them selues, hath thereby given opportunitie to the aduersarye to ouercome them. This waye Alexander of Epirus vsed againste the Illirians and Leptenus of Diracusa againste the Carthaginers,

Cesar chauncing to fall, made the tyme to be supposed to signify good lucke.

Religion taketh awaye fantasticall opinions.

In what cases a Capitaine ought not to fight with his enemye if hee maie otherwise choose

A policie of Fuluius wherby hee got & spoiled his enemies campe

A policie to disorder the enemye.

## The sixt Booke of

A policie to  
ouercome  
the enimie.

A policie.

Howv to be-  
guile the e-  
nemie.

Howv Men-  
nonus train-  
ed his ene-  
mies out of  
strong pla-  
ces to bee  
the better a-  
ble to ouer-  
come them.

and both to the one and to the other, the deuise came to passe most happely. Many haue ouercome the enimie, geuing him occasion to eate and to drinke out of measure, fayning to haue feared, and leauing their Campes full of wine and herdes of cattell, whercof the enemye being filled aboue all naturall vse, haue then assaulted him, and with his destruction ouerthrowen him. So Tamirus did against Cirus, & Liberius Graccus against the Spaniards. Some haue poysoned the wine, & other thinges to feede on, soz to be able moze easlye to ouercome them. I sayde a litle afoze howe I founde not, that the antiquitie kept in the night Scoutes abzoade, and supposed that they did it soz to auoyde the hurte, whiche might growe therby: because it is founde, that thzonghe no other meane then thzough the watche man, whiche was set in the daye to watche the enimie, hath bene cause of the ruine of him, that set him there: soz that manye times it hath happened, that hē being taken, hath bene made perfozce to tell them the token, whereby they mighte call his selloves, who comming to the token, haue bene slayne oz taken. It helpeth to beguile the enimie sometime to vary a custome of thine, wherbypon hē hauing grounded him selfe, remayneth ruined: as a Capitayne did once, whome vsing to cause to be made signes to his men soz comming of the enemies in the night with fire, and in the daye with smoke, commaunded that withoute anye intermission, they shoulde make smoke and fire, and after comming vpon them the enimie, they shoulde rest, whome belēuing to come without being seene, perceyuing no signe to be made of being discovered, caused (thzough going disozdered) moze easlye the victozye to his aduersarye. Mennonus a Rodian minding to drawe from strong places the enemies armye, sente one vnder coloure of a fugitiue, the whiche affirmed, howe his armye was in discozde, and that the greater parte



of them wente a waye: and soz to make the thing to be credited, he caused to make in sport, certaine tumultes among the lodgings: whereby the enemye thinking thereby to be able to discomfite them, assaulting them, were ouerthrowen.

Besides the sayde thinges, regarde oughte to be had not to bying the enemye into extreme desperacion: wher vnto Cesar had regarde, fighting with the Duchemen, who opened them the waye, seing, howe they being not able to flie, necessitie made them strong, and would rather take paine to follow them, when they fled, then the perrill to ouercome them, when they defended them selues.

Lucullus seing how certaine Macedonian horsemen, whiche were with him, wente to the enemies parte, straight waye made to sounge to battaile, and commaunded, that the other men should folowe him: whereby the enemies belening that Lucullus would begin the fight, went to incounter the same Macedonians, with such violence, that they were constrained to defend them selues: and so they became againste their willes, of sugetiues, fighters. It imposseth also to know, how to be assured of a towne, when thou doubttest of the fidelitie thereof, so sone as thou hast wonne the fiede, or befoze, the which certaine old insamples may teach thee.

Pompei doubting of the Catenensians, prayed them that they would be contente, to receiue certaine sicke menne, that he had in his armye, and sending vnder the habite of sicke persones, mosse lustye men, gotte the towne. Publius Valerius, fearing the fidelitie of the Epidannians, caused to come, as who sayeth, a Pardou to a church without the towne, and when all the people were gone so: Pardou, he shutte the gates, receiuing after none in, but those whome he trusted. Alexander Magnus, minding to go into Asia, and to assure him selfe of Thracia, toke with him all the prin-

The enemye oughte not to be brought into extreme desperacion.

How Lucullus constrained certaine men that ran away from him to his enemies, to fighte vwhether they would or not

A policie vwhereby popey gotte a towne.

How publius valerius assured him selfe of a towne.

A policie that Alexander Magnus vsed to be assured of all

cipall

## The sixt Booke of

Tracia, vvhi  
che Philip  
King of  
Spaine did  
practise to  
be a sired of  
England  
vwhen hee  
vvent to S.  
Quintens.  
Exâples for  
Captains to  
vvinne the  
hartes of  
the people.

elvall of the same Prouince, giuing them prouision, and he set ouer the common people of Thracia, men of lowe degre: and so he made the Princes contented with paying them, and the people quiete, hauing no heades that should disquiete them: But among all the thinges, with the which the Captaines, winne the hartes of the people, be the ensamples of chastitie & iustice, as was the same of Scipio in Spaine, when he rendered that yong womā moste faire of personage, to her father, and to her husbande: the which made him moze, then with force of armes to winne Spaine.

Cesar hauing caused that wood to be paied for, which he had occupied for to make y<sup>e</sup> Lisses, about his armie in fraunce, got so much a name of iustice, y<sup>e</sup> he made easier the conquest of the same prouince. I canot tell what remaineth me, to speake moze vpo these accidentes, for y<sup>e</sup> concerning this matter, there is not left any part, y<sup>e</sup> hath not bene of vs disputed. Onely there lacketh to tel, of the maner of winning, & defending a towne, the which I am readie to do willingly, if you be not now wearte.

Baptiste. Your humanitie is so much, that it maketh vs to followe oure desires, withoute being afraide to be reputed presumptuous, seing that you liberally offer the same, which we should haue bene ashamed, to haue asked you: Therefore, we saye vnto you onely this, that to vs you cannot do a greater, noz a moze gratefuller benefite, then to finishe this reasoning. But befoze that you passe to that other matter, declare vs a doubt, whether it be better to confine we the warre, as well in the Winter, as they vse nowe adairs, or to make it onely in the Sommer, and to go home in the Winter, as the antiquitie did.

Fabritio. See, that if the prudence of the demaunder were not, there had remained behind a special part, that deserveth consideration. I answer you againe, that the antiquitie did all thinges better, and with  
moze



more prudence then we: and if we in other things commit some error, in the affaires of warre, we commit all error. There is nothing more vndiscer etc, or more perrillous to a Capitayne, then to make warre in the Winter, and muche more perrill beareth he, that maketh it, then he that abideth it: the reason is this. All the industrie that is vsed in the discipline of warre, is vsed for to be prepared to fighte a fielde with thy enemy, because this is the ende, whereunto a Capitayne oughte to goe or endeuour him selfe: For that the foughten field, geueth thee the warre wonne or losse: then he that knoweth best how to order it, and he that hath his army beste instructed, hath moste aduantage in this, and maye beste hope to ouercome. On the other side, there is nothing more enemy to the orders, & then the rough situations, or the colde watery time: for that the rough situations, suffereth thee not to descend thy bandes, according to thee discipline: the colde and watery times, suffereth thee not to keepe thy men together, nor thou canst not bring them in good order to the enemy: but it is conuenient for thee to lodge them a sunder of necessitie, and without order, being constrained to obeye to Castells, to Boroughes, and to the Villages, that maye receyue thee, in maner that all thy labour of thee, vsed to instructe the army is vaine. For maruayle you not though now a daies, they warre in the Winter, because the armies being without discipline, know not the hurt that it dooth them, in lodging not together, for that it is no grieue to them not to be able to keepe those orders, & to obserue that discipline, which they haue not: yet they oughte to see howe much harme, the Camping in the Winter hath caused, and to remeber, how the Frenchmen in the yeare of oure Lorde God, a thousande five hundred and thre, were broken at Cariliano of the Winter, and not of the Spaniards: For as much as I haue saide, he that assaulteth, hath more disaduantage,

Warre ought not to be made in winter.

Rough situations, colde and vvarie times, are enemies to the order of warre.

An euertrowe caused by winter.

## The sixth Booke of

then he that defendeth: because the fowle weather hurteth him not a littell, being in the dominion of others & minding to make warre. For that he is constrained, either to stande together with his men, and to sustaine the incommoditie of water and colde, or to auoide it to deuide his power: But he that defendeth, may chuse the place as he listeth, and tary him with his freshe me: and he in a sodayne may set his men in araye, and go to find a band of the enemies men, who cannot resiste the violence of them. So the Frenchemen were discomfited, and so they shall alwayes be discomfited, which will assaulte in the Winter an enemye, who hath in him prudence. Then he that will that force, that orders, that discipline and vertue, in anye condition auaille him not, let him make warre in the fielde in the winter: and because that the Romaines woulde that all these thinges, in which they bestowed so much diligence, should auaille them, flædde no otherwise the Winter, then the highe Alpes, and difficulte places, and whatsoeuer other thing should let them, for being able to shewe their arte and their vertue. So this suffiseth to your demaund, wherefoze we wil come to intreate of the deseding and besieging of townes, and of their situacions and edifications.

The





*The seventh Booke of the Arte*

of warre, of Nicholas Machiauel, Citezen and Secretarie of Florence, vnto Laurence

Philip Strozze.



**V**Oughte to knowe howv that townes and Fortresses, maye bee strong either by nature, or by industrie: by nature, those be strong, which bee compassed aboute with riuers, or with Fennes, as Mantua is and Ferrara, or whiche bee builded vpon a Rocke, or vpon a steepe hille, as Monaco, and Sanleo: For that those that stande vpon hilles, that bee not muche difficult to go by, bee nowe a dayes considering the artillerie and the Caues, most weake. And therefore most often times in buylding, they seeke nowe a dayes a playne, for to make it strong with industrie.

The firste industrie is, to make the walles crooked, and full of tourninges, and of receiptes: the whiche thing maketh, that the enemye cannot come nere to it, because hee maye bee hurte, not onely on the front, but by flankes. If the walles bee made high, they bee to muche subiecte to the blowes of the artillerie: if they bee made lowe, they bee moste easie to scale. If thou makeste the ditches on the out side thereof, for to giue difficultie to the Ladders, if it happen that the enemye fill them by (whiche a great armie may easly doe) the wall remayneth taken of the enemye. Therefore purposing to prouide to the one and the other foresayd inconueniences, I beleue (sauiug alwayes better iudgement) that the wall oughte to bee made high, and the Ditch within, and not without.

Townes & Fortresses may be strong by two waies.

The place that nowe a daies is most soughte to fortifie in.

How a townes wall oughte to be made.

The wall of a town ought to be high, & the ditch within, & not without.

## The seventh Booke of

The thicke-  
nes that a  
townte vvalle  
ought to be  
of, & the dis-  
taunces be-  
twene eue-  
ry flanker, &  
of vwhat  
breadthe &  
deapth the  
ditch oughte  
to be.

Howe the or-  
dinaunce is  
planted, for  
the defence  
of a towne.

The nature  
of the bat-  
taile.

This is the mosse strongest waye of edification, that is made, for that it defendeth thee from the artillerie, and from Ladders, and it giueth not facilitie to the enemye, to fill vp the ditch: Then the wall oughte to bee high, of that height as shall bee though best, and no lesse thicke, then two yardes and a quarter, for to make it moze difficulte to ruinate. Hozeouer it oughte to haue the toures placed, with distaunces of hundred and fiftie yardes betwene the one and the other: the ditch with in, ought to bee at least two and twentie yardes and a halfe broad, and nine deepe, and all the earth that is digged out, for to make the ditch, muste bee thowen towards the Citie, and kepte vp of a wall, that must bee raised from the bottom of the ditch, and go so high ouer the towne, y a man may bee couered behinde the same, the whiche thing shall make the depth of the ditch the greater. In the bottome of the ditch, within euery hundred and fiftie yardes, there would bee a slaughter house, which with the ordinaunce, maye hurte whome so euer shoulde go downe into the same: the great artillerie that defende the Citie, are planted behinde the wall, that shutteth the ditch, because for to defende the vtter wall, being high, there cannot bee occupied commodioullye, other then small or meane pceses. If the enemye come to scale, the heighth of the firste wall most easlye defendeth thee: if he come with ordinaunce, it is conuenient for him to batter the vtter wall: but it being battered, for that the nature of the batterie is, to make the wall to fall, towarde the parte battered, the ruine of the wall cometh, finding no ditch that receyueth and hideth it, to redouble the profunditie of the same ditch: after suche sorte, that to passe anye further, it is not possible, finding a ruine that with holdeth thee, a ditch that letteth thee, and the enemyes ordinaunce, that from the wall of the ditch, mosse safelye killeth thee. Onelye there is this remedie, to fill the ditch: the  
which



Which is most difficulte to do, as well because the capacitie thereof is great, as also for the difficultie, that is in coming nêere it, the wall being strong and concealed, betwene the which, by the reasons aforesaide, with difficultie may be entered, hauing after to go by a breache through a ruine, which giueth the most great difficultie, so that I suppose a citie thus builded, to be altogether inuincible.

Baptiste. When there should be made besides the ditch within, a ditch also without, shoulde it not be stronger.

Fabritio. It shoulde be without doubt, but minding to make one ditch onely, mine opinion is, that it standeth better within then without.

Baptiste. Woulde you, that water shoulde be in the ditches, or woulde you haue them drie?

Fabritio. The opinion of men herein be diuers, because the ditches full of water, saue them from mines vnder ground, the Ditches without water, maketh more difficulte the filling of them: but I hauing considered all, would make them without water, so that they be more sure: For ditches with water, haue bene seen in the Winter to be frosen, and to make easie the winning of a citie, as it happened to Mirandola, when Pope Giulie besieged it: & for to saue me from mines, I would make it so deepe, that he that would digge lower, should finde water. The Fortresses also, I would builde concerning the ditches and the walles in like maner, to the intente they shoulde haue the like difficultie to be wonne. One thing I will earnestly advise him, that defendeth a citie: and that is, that he make no Bulwarkes without distance from the wall of the same: and another to him that buildeth the Fortresse, and this is, that he make not anye refuge place in them, in which he that is within, the firste wall being losse, maye retire: That whiche maketh mee to giue the firste coun-

A drie ditch  
is moste  
sure.

An aduertis-  
ment for the  
building &  
defending  
of a Towne  
or fortresse.

saile,

## The seventh Booke of

saile is, that no man ought to make any thing, by meane wherof, he maye be dzien without remeddy to lēse his first reputation, the which losing, causeth to be estēmed lesse his other doinges, and maketh afraied them, whom haue taken vpon them his defence, and alwayes it shall chaunce him this, whiche I saye, when there are made Bulwarkes out of the Towne, that is to bēe defended, because alwayes he shall lēse them, litle thinges nowe a dayes, being not able to bēe defended, when they bēe subiecte to the furie of ordinaunce, in suche wise that lēsing them, they bēe beginning and cause of his ruine.

Small fortresses can not bee defended.

When Genua rebelled against king Lewis of France, it made certaine Bulwarkes a losse on those hilles, which bēe about it, the which so soone as they were lost whiche was sodainly, made also the citie to be lost. Concerning the seconde counsaile, I affirme nothing to bēe to a Fortresse moze perilous, then to be in the same refuge places, to be able to retire: Because the hope that men haue therby, maketh y they lēse the vtter warde, when it is assaulted: and that losse, maketh to be lost after, all the Fortresse. For insample there is fresh in remembrance, the losse of the Fortresse of Furlye, when Catherin the Couëtelle defended it against Cesar Borgia, sonne to Pope Alexander the vi. who had conducted thether y armie of the king of France: y same Fortresse, was all full of places, to retire out of one into another: for that there was firste the kēpe, from the same to the Fortresse, was a ditche after suche sorte, that they passed ouer it by a drawe brydge: the Fortresse was deuided into thre partes, and euerye parte was deuided from the other with ditches, and with water, and by Brydges, they passed from the one place to the other: wherefoze the Duke battered with his artillerie, one of the partes of the fortresse, and opened parte of the wall: For whiche cause Maister Ihon Casale, whiche was appointed to that Warde, thoughte not

A rovyne of vvar or Fortresse ought not to haue in them any retiring places.

Cæsar Borgia.



god to defende that breache, but abandoned it for to retire him selfe into the other places: so that the Dukes men hauing entered into that parte withoute incounter, in a sodaine they gotte it all: For that the Dukes men became lordes of the bridges, which wente from one place to another. They losse then this Fortresse, which was thoughte inuincible, throughe two defaultes, the one for hauing so many retiring places, the other, because euery retiring place, was not Lozde of the bridge thereof. Therefore, the naughtie builded Fortresse, and the little wisdom of them that defended it, caused shame to the noble enterprize of the countesse, who had thought to haue abidden an armie, which neither the King of Naples, nor the Duke of Milaine would haue abidden: and although his inforcementes had no good ende, yet notwithstanding he gotte that honoure, which his valiauntnesse had deserued: The which was testified of many Epigrames, made in those dayes in his praise. Therefore, if I should haue to builde a Fortresse I would make the walles strong, and the diches in the maner as we haue reasoned, nor I woulde not make therein other, the houses to inhabite, and those I would make weake and lowe, after such sorte that they should not let him that should stande in the middell of the market place, the sighte of all the walle, to the intente that the Capitayne might see with the eye, where he maye succoure: and that euerye man shoulde vnderstande, that the walle and the dicke being lost, the fortresse were losse. And yet when I should make any retiring places, I woulde make the bridges deuided in suche wise, that euery parte shoulde be Lozde of the bridges of his side, ordainyng, that they should fall vpon postes, in the middell of the dicke.

The causes of the losse of Fortresse of Furlie, that vvas thought inuincible.

Howe the houses that are in a towne of war or fortresse ought to be builded.

Baptiste. You haue sayde that littell thinges now a dayes can not be defended, and it seemed vnto me to haue vnderstode the contrarrie, that the lesser that

## The seventh Booke of

that a thing were, the better it might be defended.

The fortifying of the entrance of a Tonne.

Fabritio. You haue not vnderſtoode well, becauſe that place cannot be nowe a daies called ſtrong, where he that defendeth it, hath not ſpace to retire with newe ditches, and with newe fortifications, for that the force of the ordinance is ſo much, that he that truſteth vpon the warde of one wall and of one fortification onely, is deceyued: and becauſe the Bulwarke (minding that they paſſe not their ordinary meaſure, for that then they ſhoulde be towneſ and Caſtleſ) be not made, in ſuch wiſe that men maye haue ſpace within them to retire, they are loſt ſtraight waye. Therefore it is wiſedome to let alone thoſe Bulwarkeſ without, and to fortifie the enterance of the towne, and to couer the gates of the ſame with tournings after ſuch ſort, that men cannot go in nor out of the gate by right line: and from the tournings to the gate, to make a ditche with a bridle. Alſo they fortifie the gate, with a Perculliſ, for to be able to put therein their men, when they be iſſued out to fighte, and hapning that the enemies purſue them, to auoide, that in the mingling together, they enter not in with them: and therfore theſe be bleſed, the whiche the antiquitie called Cattarratte, the whiche being let fall, exclude the enemies, and ſaue the friendeſ, for that in ſuche a caſe, men can do no good, neither by bridges nor by a gate, the one and the other being occupied with preaſe of men.

Baptiſte. I haue ſene theſe Perculleſſeſ that you ſpeake of, made in Almaine of litle quarterſ of wood after the faſhion of a grate of yron, and theſe perculleſſeſ of ourſ, be made of planckeſ all maſſiue: I woulde deſire to vnderſtande whereof groweth this difference, & which be the ſtrongeſt.

Fabritio. I tell you agayne, that the manerſ and orderſ of the warre, throughe out all the worlde, in reſpecte to thoſe of the antiquitie, be extinguiſhed,  
and



and in Italye they be altogether losse, for if there be a thing somewhat stronger then the ordinarie, it groweth of the insample of other countries. You mighte have under stood and these other may remember, with howe muche debilitie befoze, y<sup>e</sup> king Charles of Fraunce in the yere of our saluation a thousande CCC. xciiij. had passed into Italye, they made the batelmentes not halfe a yarde thicke, the lopes, and the flankers were made with a litle opening without, and muche within, and with manye other faul'es whiche not to be tedious I will let passe: for that easely from thinne battelments the defence is taken awaye, the flankers builded in the same maner, mosste easlye are opened: Nowe of the Frenchemen is learned to make the battelment large and thicke, and the flankers to be large on the parte within, and to drawe together in the middeste of the wall, and then agayn to waire wider vnto the vttermost parte without: this maketh that the ordinaunce hardlye can take awaye the defence. Therfoze the Frenchemen haue, manye other deuises like these, the whiche because they haue not bene seene of our men, they haue not bene considered. Among whiche, is this kinde of perculles made like vnto a grate, the which is a greate deale better then oures: for that if you haue for defence of a gate a massiue parculles as oures, letting it fall, you shutte in your menne, and you can not though the same hurte the enemye, so that be with ares, and with fire, maye breake it downe safely: but if it be made like a grate, you maye, it being let downe, through those holes and through those open places, defende it with Pikes, with crosbowes, and with all other kinde of weapons.

Battelments ought to be large and thicke & the flankers large within.

Baptiste. I haue seene in Italye an other vse after the outlandishe fashon, and this is, to make the carriage of the artillery with the spokes of y<sup>e</sup> wheele crooked towardes the Arreltre. I woulde knowe why they

## The seventh Booke of

make them so : seeming vnto mee that they bee stronger when they are made straighte as those of oure wheelles.

Fabritio. Neuer beleue that the thinges that differ from the ordinarie wayes, be made by chaunce: and if you shoulde beleue that they make them so, to the we fayzer, you are deceaued: because where strength is necessarie, there is made no counte of fayzenesse : but all groweth, for that they be muche surer and muche stronger then ours. The reason is this: the carte when it is laden, either goeth euen, or leaning vpon the righte, or vpon the lefte side : when it goeth euen, the wheelles equally sustayne the wayght, the which being equallye deuided betwene them, doth not burden much, but leaning, it cometh to haue all the payse of the cariage on the backe of that wheele vpon the which it leaneth. If the spokes of the same be straight they wil soone bzeake: for that the wheele leaning, y spokes come also to leane, and not to sustaine the payse by the straightnesse of them and so when the carte goeth euen, and when they are least burdened, they come to bee strongest: when the Carte goeth awrye, and that they come to haue moste payse, they bee weakest. Euen the contrarie happeneth to the crooked spokes of the Frenche Cartes, for that when the carte leaning vpon one side pointeth vppon them, because they bee ordinary crooked, they come then to bee straight, and to be able to sustayne strongly al the payse, where when the carte goeth euen, and that they bee crooked, they sustayne it halfe : but let vs tourne to our citie and Fortresse. The Frenchemen vse also for more safegarde of the gates of their townes, and for to bee able in sieges moze easlye to conuey and set oute men of them, besides the sayde thinges, an other deuise, of which I haue not sene yet in Italye anye insample: and this is, where they rayse on the oute side from the ende of the dwalve bydige two postes, and vpon either



of them they ioigne a beame, in suche wise that the one halfe of them comes ouer the bidge, the other halfe with oute: then all the same parte that commeth withoute, they ioygne together with small quarters of woodde, the whiche they set thicke from one beame to an other like vnto a grate, and on the parte within, they fasten to the ende of either of the beames a chaine: then when they will shutte the bidge on the oute side, they slacke the chaines, and let downe all the same parte like vnto a grate, the whiche comming downe, shutteth the bidge, and when they will open it, they drawe the chaines, and the same cometh to rise vp, and they maye raise it vp so much that a man may passe vnder it, & not a horse, and so much that there maye passe horse & man, and shutte it againe at ones, soz that it falleth and riseth as a window of a battelment. This deuise is moze sure than the Parcullles, because hardely it maye be of the enemye lette in such wise, that it fall not downe, falling not by a righte line as the Parcullles, which easely may be vnderpopped. Therfore they which will make a citie oughte to cause to be ordained all the saide things: & mozeouer aboute the walles, there woulde not bee suffered any grounde to be tilled, within a myle thereof, nor any wall made, but shoulde be all champaine, where shoulde be neither ditch nor banck, neither tree nor house, which might let the sighte, and make defence soz the enemye that incampeth.

And note, that a Towne, whiche hathe the ditches withoute, with the banckes higher then the grounde, is moste weake: soz as muche as they make defence to the enemye, which assaulteth the, and letteth him not hurte the, because easely they may be opened, and geue place to his artillerie: but let vs passe into the Towne. I will not lose so muche time in shewing you howe that besides the foresayde thinges, it is requisite to haue prouision of victualles, and where with to

Neither tre  
ditch, vvall  
tillage, nor  
any kinde of  
edificacion,  
ought to be  
vwithin a  
mile of a  
roune of  
vvarre.

Noore.

## The seventh Booke of

The prouision that is meete to be made for the defence of a towne.

fight, for that they be thinges that euery man vnderdeth, and without them, all other prouision is vaine: and generally two thinges oughte to be done, to prouide and to take the commoditie from the enemye that he auaile not by þe thinges of thy countrey: therfore þe straw, the beastes, the graine, whiche thou canste not receiue into house, ought to be destroyed. Also he that defendeth a Towne, oughte to prouide that nothing bee done tumultuously and disordinately, and to take suche order, that in all accidentes euery man maye knowe what he hath to doo.

The order that oughte to be taken is thus, that the women, the olde folkes, the children, and the impotent, be made to keepe within doores, that the Towne maye be left free, to yong and lustie men, whom being armed, must be distributed for the defence of the same, appointing part of them to the wall, parte to the gates, parte to the principall places of the Citie, for to remedie those inconueniences, that might growe within: an other parte must not be bound to any place, but be ready to succour all, neede requiring: and the thing being ordained thus, with difficultie tumulte can growe, whiche maye disorder thee. Also I will that you note this, in the besieging and defending of a Citie, that nothing geueth so muche hope to the aduersarye to be able to winne a towne, as when he knoweth that the same is not accustomed to see the enemye: for that many times for feare onely without other experience of force, cities haue bene losse: Therfore a man oughte, when he assaulteth a like Citie, to make all his ostentacions terrible. On the other parte he that is assaulted, oughte to appointe to the same parte, whiche the enemye fighteth againste, strong men and suche as opinion maketh not a fraide, but weapōs onely: for that if the first prouise turne tame, it increaseth boldnesse to the besieged, and then the enemye is constrained to overcome them within. with

vhat incorage the enemy most that besiegeth a towne

vhat he that besiegeth and he that defendeth oughte to doo.

vertue



vertue and reputacion. The instrumentes wherewith the antiquitie defended Townes, were manye: as ballistes, onagris, Scorpions, Arcubalistes, Jusstiballs, Slinges: & also those were many with which they gaue assaultes. As Arrieti. Towers, Husculi, Plutai, Viney, Falci, Testudeni, in steede of which thinges be nowe a daies the ordinaunce, the whiche serue him that besiegeth, and him that defendeth: and therefore I wil speake no farther of them: But let vs returne to oure reasoning, and let vs come to perticular offences. They oughte to haue care not to be taken by famine, and not to be ouercome throughe assaultes: concerning famine, it hath bene told, that it is requiset befoze the siege come, to be well pꝛouided of victualles. But when a Towne throughe long siege, lacketh victualies, sometimes hath bene seene vnto certain extraordinary waies to be pꝛouided of theyꝝ friends, whom would saue them, in especial if throughe the middest of the besieged Citie there runne a riuer, as the Romaines dittelled their castell called Casalino besieged of Aniball, who being not able by the riuer to sende them other victuall then Ruttes, where of casting in the same greate quantetic, the which carried of the riuer, withoute being able to be letted, fedde long time the Casaliniens. Some besieged, soꝛ to shew vnto the enemye, that they haue graine moze then inough and soꝛ to make him to dispaire, that he cannot, by famine ouercome them, haue castte bꝛeade out of the Gates, or geuen a Bullocke graine to eate, and after haue suffered the same to be taken, to the intent that kilde and found full of graine, might shew that a boundance, which they had not. On the other parte excellent Capitaines haue vsed sundꝛy waies to weery the enemye.

Fabius suffered them whom he besieged, to sow their fieldes, to the entente that they shoulde lacke the same coꝛne, which they sowed.

A duertisement for a besieged town

How the romaines vittaled Casalino besieged of Aniball.

A policy for the besieged

A policy of Fabius in besieging of a town.

## *The seventh Booke of*

A polecie of  
Dionisius in  
besieging of  
a towne.

Dionisius being in Campe at Regio, sained to minde to make an agreement with them, & during the pract. se thereof, he caused him selfe to be prouided of theyr victualles, and then when he had by this meane got from them their graine, he kepte them straighte and famished them.

Howe Alexander  
vane  
Leucadia.

Alexander Magnus minding to winne Leucadia ouercame all the Castelles aboute it, and by that meanes d'ruing into the same Citie a greate multitude of theyr owne countrey men, famished them.

The besieged  
oughte  
to take heed  
of the first  
brunne.

Concerning the assaultes, there hath been tolde that chiefly they oughte to be ware of the first brunte, with which the Romaines got often times many townes, assaulting them sodainely, and on euery side: and they called it, Aggredi urbem corona. As Scipio did, whē he wanted Carthage in Hispaine: the whiche brunte if of a towne it be with stode, with difficultie after will be overcome: and yet though it should happen y the enemye were entred into the Citie, by overcoming the walle, yet the townes men haue some remedie, so they forsake it not: for as much as many armiees throughe entring into a towne, haue bene repulced or slaine: the remedie is, that the townes men do keepe them selues in high places, and from the houses, and from the towres to fight with them: the whiche thing, they that haue entered into the Citie, haue deuised to overcome in two maners: the one with opening the Gates of the Citie, and to make y waye for the Townes men, that they might safely flie: the other with sending forth a proclamation, that signifieth that none shall be hurt but the armed, and to them that cast their weapons on the ground, pardon shall be graunted: the which thing hath made easy the victorie of many Cities.

The remedie  
that  
townes men  
haue, when  
the enemies  
are entered  
into the  
towne.

Howe to  
make the  
townes men  
yeelde.

Howe townes  
or cities  
are easily  
wonne.

Besides this, the Cities are easy to be wonne, if thou come vpon them vnawares: which is done being with thy armye farre of, after suche sort, that it be

not



not beleued, either that thou wilt assault them, or that thou canst do it, without comming openly, because of the distaunce of the place: wherefoze, if thou secretely and speedely assaulte them, almost alwayes it shall followe, that thou shalt get the victorie. I reason vnwillinglye of the thinges succeeded in oure time, soz that to mee and to mine, it shoulde be a burthen, & to reason of other, I cannot tell what to saye: notwithstanding, I cannot to this purpose but declare, the insample of Cesar Bozgia, called Duke Valentine, who being at Rocera with his men, vnder colour of going to besiege Camerino, tourned towards the state of Arbin, and got a state in a day and without any payne, the which an other with much time and cost, shoulde scante haue gotten. It is conueniente also to those, that be besieged, to take hæde of the deceptes, and of the policies of the enemy, and therefore the besieged, ought not to trust to any thing, whiche they see the enemy do continually, but let them beleue alwayes, that it is vnder deceipt, and that he can to their hurte vary it. Domitio Caluino besieging a towne, vsed soz a custome to compasse aboute euery daye, with a good parte of his men, the wall of the same: whereby the Townes men, beleuing that he did it soz exercise, slackted the Warde: wherof Domicius being aware, assaulted and ouercame them.

Certayn Capitayns vnderstanding, that there should come aide to the besieged, haue apparreled their Souldiours, vnder the Ansigne of those, that should come, and being let in, haue gotte the Towne.

Simon of Athens, set fire in a nighte on a Temple, whiche was sute of the Towne, wherefoze the Townes men going to succour it, left the towne in pray to the enemy. Some haue slayne those, whiche from the besieged Castle, haue gone a sozaging, and haue apparreled their Souldiours, with the apparel of the sozagers, whome after haue gotte the Towne. The aunciente

Hovve duke Valentine got the citie of Vrbine,

The besieged oughte to take heed of the deceptes & policies of the enemy.

Hovve Domitio Caluino vvan a towne.

A policie to get a towne

Hovv Simō of Athens vvā a towne.

A policie to get a towne

## The seventh Booke of

How Scipio  
got certaine  
cattles in A-  
frica.

Exiente Capitaynes, haue also vsed diuers wayes, to de-  
stroy the Garrison of the towne, which they haue sought  
to take. Scipio being in Africa, and desiring to get cer-  
taine Castles, in which were put the Garrisons of Car-  
thage, he made many times, as though he would assault  
them, albeit, he sayned after, not onely to abstaine, but  
to go awaye from them for feare: the which Anibal be-  
leuing to be true, soe to pursue him with greater force,  
and soe to be able moze easily to oppresse him, drew  
out all the garrisons of them: The which Scipio know-  
ing, sent Passinissa his Capitayne to overcome them.

How Pir-  
rus yvanne  
the chiefe  
citie of Scla-  
uonie.

Pirrus making warre in Sclauonie, to the chiefe  
Citie of the same countrie, where were brought manye  
menne in Garrison, sayned to dispayre to be able to  
winne it, and turning to other places, made that the  
same soe to succour them, emptied it selfe of the warde,  
and became easie to be wonne. Many haue corrupted  
the water, and haue tourned the riuers an other waye  
to take Townes. Also the besieged, are easily made  
to yelde them selues, making them afrayed, with sig-  
nifying vnto them a victorie gotten, or with newe aides,  
which come in their disfaour. The olde Capitaines  
haue sought to get townes by tresson, corrupting some  
within, but they haue vsed diuers meanes. Some  
haue sente a man of theirs, whiche vnder the name  
of a fugitiue, mighte take auctoritye and truste with  
the enemies, who after haue vsed it to their profite.

A policie to  
get a tovvne

Howe the  
besieged are  
made to  
yeelde.

How to  
get a tovvne  
by treason.

A policie of  
Anibal for  
the betray-  
ing of a Ca-  
stle

Some by this meanes, haue vnderstood the maner of  
the watche, and by meanes of the same knowledge,  
haue taken the Towne. Some with a Carte, or with  
Beames vnder some colour, haue letted the gate, that  
it coulde not be shutte, and with this waye, made the  
entrie easye to the enemye. Anibal perswaded one, to  
giue him a Castle of the Romanes, and that he should  
sayne to go a hunting in the nighte, making as though  
he coulde not go by daye, for feare of the enemies, and  
tour



fourning after with the Menison, should be put in with him certayne of his men, and so killing the watchmen, should give him the gate. Also the besieged are beguiled, with drawing them out of the Towne, and going a waye from them, sayning to flie when they assault thee. And many (among whome was Anibal) haue for no other intente, let their Campe to be taken, but to haue occasion to gette betwæne them and home, and to take their Towne. Also, they are beguiled with sayning to departe from them, as Forinion of Athens did, who hauing spoyled the countrey of the Calcidensians, receiued after their ambassadours, filling their Citie with faire promises, and hope of safetie, vnder the whiche as simple men, they were a litle after of Forinion oppressed. The besieged ought to beware of the men, whiche they haue in suspect among them: but some times they are wont, as well to assure them selues with deserte, as with punishment. Marcellus knowing howe Lucius Bancius a Polane, was tourned to fauour Anibal, so much humanitie and liberalitie, he vsed towarde him, that of an enemye he made him most friendely. The besieged ought to vse moze diligence in the warde, when the enemye is gone from them, then whē he is at hand. And they ought to warde those places, whiche they thinke, that maye be hurt least: for that manye townes haue been lost, when the enemye assaulteth it on the same part, where they beleue not possible to be assaulted. And this deceit groweth of two causes, either for the place being strong, and to beleue y it is inuincible, or through craft being vsed of the enemye, in assaulting them on one side with sayned larmes, and on the other withoute noise, and with very assaults in dede: and therfore the besieged, ought to haue great aduertisement, and aboue all thinges at all times, and in especiallye in the nighte to make good watche to be kepte on the walles, and not onelye to appointe men, but Dogges, and suche

Howe the besieged maie be begiled.

Howe Forinion ouer-came the calcidensians.

What the besieged muste take heede of.

Liberalitie maketh enemyes frēdes. The diligence that the besieged ought to vse in their vvarche and vvarde.

## The seventh Booke of

fiere Passiues, and liuely, the which by their sent maye deserue the enemie, and with barking discover him: and not Dogges onely, but Geese haue bene seene to haue saued a citie, as it happened to Rome, when the Frenchmen besieged the Capitoll.

An order of Alcibiades for the deuoping of vwatche and vvarde.

Alcibiades for to see, whether the warde watched, Athens being besieged of the Spartaynes, ordayned that when in the night, he shoulde lifte vp a light, all the warde should lift vp likewise, constituting punishmente to him that obserued it not.

Thucydides of Athens killed a watcheman, which slept, saying, that he left him as hee founde him. Those that haue bene besieged, haue vsed diuers meanes, to sende aduise to their friends: and minding not to sende their message by mouth; they haue wrytten letters in Cifers, and hiden them in sundrie wise: the Cifers bee according, as pleaseth him that ordaineth them, the maner of hiding them is diuers. Some haue wrytten within y<sup>e</sup> scaberde of a sworde: Other haue put the letters in an vn-baked lofe, & after haue baked the same, and giuen it for meate to him that caried them: Certain haue hidden the, in the secretest place of their bodies: other haue hidden them in the collour of a Dog, y<sup>e</sup> is familiare with him, which carrieth the: Some haue wrytten in a letter ordinarie thinges, & after betwene the one line & the other, haue also writen with water, that wetting it or warming it after, the letters should appeare. This way hath bene most politikely obserued in our time: where some minding to signifie to their friends inhabiting within a towne, thinges to be kept secret, & minding not to trust any person, haue sent common matters wrytten, according to the common vse and enterlined it, as I haue sayde aboue, and the same haue made to be hanged on the gates of the Temples, the whiche by counterfignes being knowen of those, vnto whome they haue bene sente, were taken of and reade: the whiche way

The secrete conueighing of letters.



is most politique, because he that carrieth them may bee beguiled; and there shall happen him no perrill. There be mosse infinite other wayes, which euery man may by him selfe reade and finde: but with moze facelitte, the besieged maye be wozitten vnto, then the besieged to theye frendes without, for that such letters cannot be sente, but by one, vnder colour of a fugetiue, that cometh out of a Towne, the which is a daungerous and perrillous thing, when the enemy is any whit crafty: But those that sende in, he that is sent, may vnder many colours, go into the campe that besiegeth, and from thens taking conueniente occasion, maye leape into the town: but let vs come to speake of the presente winning of Townes. I saye that if it happen, that thou bee besieged in thy Citie, which is not ozdained with ditches within, as a littell befoze we shewed, to minde that the enemy shall not enter thzoughe the bzeache of the walle, whiche the artillerye maketh: because there is no remedie to let the same from making of a bzeache, it is theretofore necessary for thee, whilest the ozdinaunce battereth, to castte a ditche within the walle whiche is battered, and that it be in bzeadth at leaste two and twentye yardes and a halfe, and to thzowe all the same that is digged towarde the Towne, which may make a bancke, and the ditche moze deepe: and it is conueniente for thee, to sollicitate this woꝝke in suche wise, that when the walle falleth, the Ditch may be digged at least, foꝝe or fiue yardes in depth: the which ditch is necessarye, while it is a digging, to shutte it on euerye side with a slaughter house: and when the wall is so strong, that it geueth thee time to make the ditch, and the slaughter houses, that battered parte, cometh to be muche stronger, then the rest of the citie: for that such foꝝtification, cometh to haue the foꝝme, of the ditches which we deuised within: but when y wall is weake, & that it geueth thee not time, to make like foꝝtifications, then strength

The defence  
againste a  
breache.

## Now The seventh Booke of

valiauntnesse muste be shewed, setting against the enemies armed menne, with all thy force. This maner of fortificacion was obserued of the Pisans, when you besieged them, and they might do it, because they had strong walles, which gaue them time, the yearth being soft and most mæte to rayse by banckes, and to make fortificacions: where if they had lacked this commoditie, they shoulde haue losse the towne. Therefore it shall be alwaies prudently done, to prouide afoze hand making ditches within the Citie, and thzoughout all the circuite thereof, as a littel befoze we denised: for that in this case, the enemy may safely be taried for at laisure, the fortificacions being redy made. The antiquity many times gotte townes, with muining vnder ground in two maners, eyther they made a way vnder ground secretly, which risse in the towne, and by the same entered, in which maner the Romaines toke the Citie of Aleienti, or with the muining, they ouerthze w a walles, and made it ruinate: this laste way is now a daies most strong, & maketh, that the cities placed high, be moste weake, because they may better be vnder ruined: and putting after in a Caue of this Gunne powder, which in a moment kindeling, not onely ruinateth a wall, but it openeth the hilles, and vtterly dissolueth the strength of them.

Howe the  
antiquitie  
got townes  
by muining  
vnder ground

The remedie  
agaist caues  
or vnder  
muininges

The remedie for this, is to builde in the plaine, and to make the ditch that compasseth thy Citie, so deepe, that the enemy maye not digge lower then the same, where he shall not finde water, whiche onely is enemy to the Caues: for if thou be in a towne, whiche thou defendest on a highe ground, thou canst not remedie it otherwise, then to make within thy walles many deepe Welles, the which be as Downers to the same Caues, that the enemy is able to ordaine against thee. An other remedie there is, to make a Caue againste it, when thou shouldeste be aware where he muineth, the whiche way easelye hindereth him, but difficultly



It is fozeſene, being beſieged of a craftie enemy. He that is beſieged, oughte aboute all thinges to haue care, not to bee oppreſſed in the time of reſſe: as is after a battaile foughte, after the watche made, whiche is in the Morning at bzeake of the daye, and in the Euening betwæne daie and night, and aboute all, at meale times: in whiche time many Townes haue bene wonne, and armies haue bene of them within ruinated: therefore it is requiſite with diligence on all partes, to ſtande alwaies guarded, and in a good parte armed. I wil not lacke to tell you, howe that, which maketh a Citie or a campe difficult to be defended, is to be diuened to keepe ſundred all the foze, that thou haſte in them, for that the enemy being able to aſſaulte thee at his pleaſure altogether, it is conueniente for thee on euery ſide, to garde euery place, and ſo he aſſaulteth thee with all his foze, and thou with parte of thine defendeſt thee. Also, the beſieged may be ouercome altogether, he without cannot bee, but repulſed: wherefoze many, whome haue bene beſieged, either in a Campe, or in a Towne, althoughe they haue bene inferioure of power, haue iſſued oute with theyr men at a ſodaine, and haue ouercome the enemy. This Marcellus of Pola did: this did Ceſar in fraunce, where his campe being aſſaulted of a moſt great nûber of frenchmen, and ſeing him ſelſe not able to defende it, being conſtrayned to deuide his foze into many partes, and not to bee able ſtanding within the Liſſes, with violence to repulſe the enemy: he opened the Campe on the one ſide, and turning towardes the ſame parte with all his power, made ſo much violence againſt them, and with ſo much valiantnes, that he vanquiſhed and ouercame them. The conſtancie alſo of the beſieged, cauſeth many times diſpleaſure, and maketh aſrayde them that doe beſiege. Pompei being agaynſt Ceſar, and Ceſars armie being in greate diſtreſſe throughe famine, there was broughte of his bzeade to Pompei, whome ſeing it made

Vvhat care the beſieged oughte to haue.

Vvhat maketh a citie or campe difficulte to be defended.

By vvhath means they that beſiege are made aſraide.

## The seventh Booke of

made of grasse. commaunded, that it should not bee shewed vnto his armie, least it should make them afraide, seing what enemies they had against them. Nothing caused so much honour to the Romaines in the warre of Aniball, as theyr constancie: for as much as in what so euer enuious, and aduerse fortune they were troubled, they neuer demaunded peace, they neuer made anye signe of feare, but rather when Aniball was aboute Rome, they solde those fieldes, where he had pitched his Campe, dearer then ordinary in other times should haue bene solde: and they stode in so muche obstinacie in theyr enterprises, that for to defende Rome, they would not raise theyr campe from Capua, the which in the very same time that Rome was besieged, the Romaines did besiege.

I knowe that I haue tolde you of many thinges, the which by your self you might haue vnderstode, & considered, notwithstanding I haue done it (as to day also I haue tolde you) for to be able to shewe you better by meane thereof, the qualitie of this army, and also for to satisfie those, if there be anye, whome haue not had the same commodity to vnderstand them as you. For me thinkes that there resteth other to tell you, then certaine general rules, the which you shall haue moste familiar, whiche be these.

The same that helpeth the enemy, hurteth thee: and the same that helpeth thee, hurteth the enemy.

He that shall be in the warre most vigilant to obserue the deuises of the enemy, and shall take moste paine to exercise his army, shall incurre least perills, and maye hope most of the victorie.

Neuer conducte thy men to fight the field, if first thou hast not confirmed theyr mindes & knowest them to be without feare, & to be in good order: for thou oughtest neuer to enterpryse any dangerous thing with thy souldiours, but when thou seest, that they hope to ouercome.

It

Honour got  
by constancie

Rules of  
warre.



It is better to conquere the enemy with famine, then with yron: in the victorie of which, fortune may do much more then valiantnesse.

No purpose is better then that, which is hidde from the enemy untill thou haue executed it.

To knowe in the warre howe to vnderstande occasion, and to take it, helpeth more then any other thing.

Nature breedeth fewe strong men, the industrie and the exercise maketh manye.

Discipline maye do more in warre, then furie.

When anye departe from the enemies side for to come to serue thee, when they bee faithfull, they shalbe vnto thee alwaies great gaines: for that the power of the aduersaries are more deminished with the losse of them, that runne awaye, then of those that be slayne, although that the name of a fugiue be to newe friends suspected, to olde odious.

Better it is in pitching the fielde, to reserue behinde the first front ayde ynoughe, then to make the front bigger to disperse the Souldiours.

He is difficultlye overcome, whiche can knowe his owne power and the same of the enemy.

The valiauntenesse of the souldiours auayleth more then the multitude.

Some times the situation helpeth more then the valiantnesse.

Swifte and sudden thinges, make armyes afrayde.

Slowe and accustomed thinges, be litle regarded of them. Therefore make thy armye to practise & to knowe with small fightes a newe enemye, befoze thou come to fight the fielde with him.

He that with disorder followeth the enemye after that he is broken, will do no other, then to become of a conquerour a loser.

He that prepareth not necessarye victualles to liue vpon, is overcome without yron.

## The seventh Booke of

He that trusteth more in horsemen then in footemen, or more in footemen then in horsemen, must accomodate him selfe with the situacion.

When thou wilt see if in the daye there bee comen anye spie into the Campe, cause euery man to go to his lodging.

Change purpose, when thou perceiuest that the enemy hath so: scene it.

Howe to  
consulte.

Consult with many of those things, which thou oughtest to do: the same that thou wilt after do, conferre with fewe.

Souldiours when they abide at home, are maintayned with feare and punishmente, after when they are lead to the warre, with hope and with rewarde.

God Capitaynes come neuer to fighte the fielde, except necessitie constraïne them, and occasion call them.

Cause that the enemies knowe not, howe thou wilt order thy army to fight, and in what so euer maner that thou ordayne it, make that the firste bande maye bee receyued of the seconde and of the thirde.

In the fighte neuer occupie a battaill to anye other thing, then to the same, so: whiche thou hast apointed it, if thou wilt make no disorder.

The sodayne accidentes, with difficultie are remedied: those that are thought vpon, with facilitie.

Men, yron, money, and bzead, bee the strength of the warre, but of these foure, the first two be mosse necessarye: because men and yron, finde money and bzead; but bzeade and money finde not men and yron.

What  
things are  
the strength  
of the vvarre

The vnarmed rich man, is a bootie to the poore souldiour.

Accustome thy souldiours to dispise delicate liuing and laciuius apparell.

This is as muche as happeneth me generallye to remember you, and I knowe that there might haue bene sayde manye other things in all this my reasoning:

as



as should be, how and in howe many kinde of waies the antiquitie ordered their bandes, howe they apparelled them, and howe in many other thinges they exercised them, and to haue ioigned herevnto many other particulars, the which I haue not iudged necessary to shew, as wel for that you your selfe maye see them, as also for that my intente hath not been to shew iuste how the olde seruic of warre was apointed, but how in these daies a seruic of warre might be ordayned, which shoulde haue moze vertue then the same y is vled. Wherefoze I haue not thought good of the auncient thynges to reaso other, then y, which I haue iudged to such introduction necessary. I know also that I might haue delated moze vpon the seruice on horsebacke, and after haue reasoned of the warre on the Sea: for as much as he that distinguisheth the seruic of warre, sayeth, howe there is an armie on the sea, and of the lande, on foote, & on horseback. Of that on the sea, I wyl not presume to speake, for that I haue no knowledge thereof: but I will let the Venetians, and the Venecians speake thereof, whome with like studies haue heretofore done greate thinges.

Also of horses, I will speake no other, then as afoze I haue sayde, this parte being (as I haue declared) leaste corrupted. Besides this, the foote men being well ordayned, which is the puissance of the armye, good horses of necessitie will come to be made.

Onely I counsell him that woulde ordayne the exercise of armes in his owne countrey, and desireth to fill the same with good horses, that he make two provisions: the one is, that he distribute Mares of a good race throughe his dominion, and accustome his menne to make choise of coltes, as you in this countrey make of Calues and Mules: the other is: that to thentente the excepted might finde a byer, I would prohibet that no man shoulde keepe a Mule excepte he would keepe a horse: so that he that woulde keepe but one beast to

Provisions  
that maie be  
made to fill a  
Realme full  
of good  
horses.

## The seventh Booke of

ride on, shoulde be constrained to keape a horse: & more-  
ouer that no man shoulde weare fine cloathe except he  
which doeth keape a horse: this order I vnderstande  
hath bene deuised of certaine Princes in oure time,  
whome in shorthe space haue thereby, brought into theyr  
countrey an excellent number of good horses. Aboute  
the other thinges, as much as mighte be looked for con-  
cerning horse, I remitte to as much as I haue sayde to  
daye, and to that which they vse. Peraduenture also  
you would desire to vnderstand what condicions a Cap-  
taine oughte to haue: whereof I shall satisfie you mooste  
briefflic: for that I cannot tell howe to chose anie other  
man then the same, who shoulde knowe howe to do all  
these thinges which this daye hath bene reasoned of by  
vs: the which also shoulde not suffice, when he shoulde  
not knowe howe to deuise of him selfe, for that no man  
without inuencion, was euer excellent in any science:  
and if inuencion causeth honour in other thinges, in this  
aboue all, it maketh a man honozable: for euerie inuen-  
cion is sene, althoughe it were but simple, to be of  
Writers celebrated: as it is sene, where Alexander Mag-  
nus is praysed, who for to remoue his Campe most se-  
cretelye, gaue no twarning with the Trumpette, but  
with a hatte vpon a Launce. And was praysed also for  
hauing take order that his souldiours in buckeling with  
the enemies, shoulde knæle with the leste legge, to be  
able moze strongly to withstand their violence: & which  
hauing genen him the victozy, it got him also so much  
praise, that al the Images, which were created in his ho-  
nour, stode after the same fashio. But because it is time  
to finishe this reasoning, I will turne agayne to my first  
purpose, and partly I shall auoide the same reproche,  
wherein they vse to condempne in this towne, such as  
knoweth not when to make an ende.

The know-  
ledge that a  
capitaine  
ought to  
haue,

The auctor  
retourneth  
to his first  
purpose and

If you remember Cosinius you tolde me, that I  
being of one side an exalter of the antiquitie, and a dis-  
prayer



praiser of those, which in waightie matters imitated the not, and of the other side, I hauing not in the affaires of warre, wherin I haue taken paine, imitated them, you could not perceyue the occasion: wherunto I answered, holwe that men which will do any thing, must first prepare to knowe holwe to do it, for to be able, after to vse it, when occasion permitteth: whether I do knowe holw to bzing the seruic of warre to the aunciente maners or no, I will be iudged by you, which haue heard mee vpon this matter long dispute: whereby you may know, holwe much time I haue consumed in these studies: and also I beleue that you maye imagine, holwe much desire is in mee to bzing it to effect: the whiche whether I haue bene able to haue done, or that euer occasion hath bene giuen mee, most easly you maye coniecture: yet for to make you moze certayne and for my better iustification, I will also aledge the occasions: and as muche as I haue promised, I will partly perforce, to shew you the difficultie and the facilitie, which be at this present in suche imitations.

maketh a litle discourse to make an end of his reasoning.

Therefore I say, holwe that no deede that is done now a dayes among men, is moze easly to be reduced into the aunciente maners, then the seruice of Warre: but by them onely that be Princes of so muche state, who can at least gather together of their owne subiectes. xv. or twentie thousande young men: otherwise, no thing is moze difficulte, then this, to them whiche haue not suche commoditie: and for that you maye the better vnderstande this parte, you haue to knowe, holwe that there be of two condicions, Capitaynes to be praised: The one are those, that with an army or dayned throughe the naturall discipline thereof, haue done greate thinges, as were the greater parte of the Romaneyne Citezens, and suche as haue lead armyes, the whiche haue had no other paine, then to mayntayne them good, and to see them guyded safely: the other are

A prince maie easly bring to intiere perfection the seruic of vvar.

Tvvo sortes of capitains vworthie to be praised.

## The seventh Booke of

they, whiche not onelye haue had to ouercome the enemye, but befoze they come to the same, haue bene constrained to make good and well ordered their armye: who without doubtte deserue muche moze praise, then those haue deserued, whiche with old armies, and good, haue valiauntlye wrought. Of these, such were Pelopida, and Epaminonda, Lullus Hostilius, Philip of Macedony father of Alexander, Cyrus king of the Percians Craccus a Romane: they all were driuen first to make their armies good, and after to fighte with them: they all colde do it, as well thzough their pzudence, as also foz hauing subiectes whome they mighte in like exercises instruct: noz it shoulde neuer haue bene otherwise possible, that anye of them, though they had bene neuer so good and full of all excellencie, shoulde haue bene able in a straunge countrie, full of men cozrupted, not vsed to any honest obedience, to haue bzought to passe any laudable wozke. It suffiseth not then in Italie, to knowe how to gouerne an armie made, but firste it is necessary to knowe howe to make it, and after to knowe howe to commaunde it: and to do these thinges, it is requisite they be those Princes, whom hauing much dominion, and subiectes ynough, may haue commoditie to do it: of which I can not be, who neuer commaunded, noz can not commaunde, but to armies of straungers, and to men bounde to other, and not to mee: in whiche if it be possible, oz no, to introduce any of those thinges that this daye of mee hath bene reasoned, I will leaue it to your iudgement. Albeit when coulde I make one of these souldiours which now a dayes practise, to weare moze armour then the ordinarie, and besides the armour, to beare their owne meate foz two oz thze dayes, with a mattocke? When coulde I make them to digge, oz keepe them euery day many howers armed, in fained exercises, foz to be able after in the very thing in deepe to preuaile? When woulde they abstayne from playe, from

laciui



laciuioufnesse, from swearing, from the insolence, which the euery daye they commit: when woulde they bee reduced into so much discipline, into so much obedience and reuerence, that a tree full of apples in the middle of their Campe, shoulde bee founde there and leste vntouched: As is red, that in the aunciente armies manye times happened. What thing maye I promise them, by meane wherof they may haue mee in reuerence to loue or to feare, when the warre being ended, they haue not anye moze to doo with mee? wherof maye I make them ashamed, which bee bozne & brought by without shame? why should they be ruled by mee who knowe mee not? By what God or by what saintes may I make them to swear: By those y they worship, or by those that they blaspheme? Who they worship I knowe not anye: but I know well they blaspheme all. Howe shoulde I beleue that they will keepe their promise to them, whom euery hower they dispise? Howe can they that dispise God, reuerence men? Then what good fashon shoulde that be, which might be impressed in this matter?

And if you shoulde aledge vnto mee that Swizzeres and Spaniardes be good Souldiours, I woulde confesse vnto you, howe they be farre better then the Italians: but if you note my reasoning, and the maner of proceeding of both, you shall see, howe they lacke manye thinges to ioyne to the perfection of the antiquitie.

And howe the Swizzeres be made good of one of their naturall vses caused of that, whiche to daye I tolde you: those other are made good by meane of a necessitie: for that seruing in a straunge countrie, and seeming vnto them to be constrained either to dye, or to ouercome, they perceyuing to haue no place to flye, doo become good: but it is a goodnesse in manye partes faultye: for that in the same there is no other god, but that they be accustomed to farie the enemye at the Pike and swordes pointe: no, that, whiche they lacke, no  
man

## The seventh Booke of

man shoulde bee meete to teache them, and so muche the lesse, hee that coulde not speake their language.

The auetor  
excuseth the  
people of I-  
talie to the  
great repro-  
che of their  
princes for  
their igno-  
raunce in  
the affaires  
of yuarre.

But let vs tourne to the Italians, who for hauing not had wise Princes, haue not taken any good order: and for hauing not had the same necessitie, whiche the Spaniards haue had, they haue not taken it of them selues so that they remayne the Thame of the worlde: and the people bee not to blame, but onelye their pzinces, who haue bene chastised, and for their ignozaunce haue been iustely punished, loosing most shamefullye their states, without shewing anye vertuous ensample. And if you will see whether this that I saye be true: consider howe manye warres haue bene in Italy since the departure of king Charles to this daye, where the warre being wont to make men warlike and of reputacion, these the greater and fierfer that they haue bene, so muche the moze they haue made the reputation of the members and of the heades therof to bee lost. This proueth that it groweth, that the accustomed orders were not nor bee not good, and of the newe orders, there is not any which haue knowen howe to take them. For neuer beleue that reputation will be gottē, by the Italians weapons, but by the same waye that I haue shewed, & by meanes of them, that haue great states in Italic: for that this forme maye bee impressed, in simple rude men, of their owne, and not in malicious, ill bzought by, and strangers. For there shall neuer bee founde any good mason, whiche will beleue to bee able to make a faire image of a peece of Marble ill helwed, but verye well of a rude peece.

A discription  
of the foolish  
nesse of the  
Italiā prin-  
ces.

Our Italian Princes beleued, befoze they tasted the blowes of the outlandishe warre, that it shoulde suffice a Princes to knowe by wrytinges, howe to make a subtil aunswere, to wryte a godly letter, to shewe in sayynges, and in wordes, witte and pzomptenesse, to knowe howe to canuas a fraude, to decke them selues  
with



with precious stones and gold, to sleepe and to eate with greater glozy then other: To keepe many lasciuious persons aboute them, to gouerne them selues with their subiects, conetuously and prouedly: To rote in idlenes, to geue the degrees of the exercise of warre, for good will, to despise if any should haue shewed them any laudable waye, minding that their wordes should be answers of oracles: noz the sely wretches were not aware that they prepared them selues to be a prairie to whome so euer should assaulte them. Hereby grewe then in the thousand fowze hundred and nintie and fowze yere, the greate feares, the sodaine flightes, and y marucilous losses: and so thre most mighty states which were in Italie, haue bene diuers times sacked and destroyed. But that which is worse, is where those y remaine, continue in the very same erreure, and liue in the verie same disorder, & consider not, that those, who in olde time would keepe their states, caused to be done these thinges, which of me hath bene reasoned, and that their studies were, to prepare the body to diseases, & the minde not to feare perrills. Whereby grewe that Cesar, Alexander, and all those men and excellent Princes in old time, were the foremost amongest the fighters, going armed on foote: and if they losse theyz state, they would lose their life, so that they liued and died vertuously. And if in them, or in parte of them, there might be condemned to much ambicion to reason of: yet there shall neuer be founde, that in them is condemned any tendernesse, or any thing that maketh men delicate and feeble: the which thing, if of these Princes were redde and belued, it should be impossible, that they should not chaunge their forme of lining, and theyz prouinces not to chaunge fortune. And for that you in the beginning of this oure reasoning, lamented youre ordinaunces, I saye vnto you, that if you had ordained it, as I afoze haue reasoned, & it had geuen of it selfe no god experience, you mighte  
with

Cesar & Alexander,  
were the  
formost in  
battel.

## The seventh Booke of

With reason haue béene grieued therewith: but if it bé not so ozdained, and exercised, as I haue saide, it maye be greued with you, who haue made a couëterfaite thereof, and no perfecte figure. The Venecians also, and the Duke of Ferrare, began it, and followed it not, the which hath béene thzough their faulte, not thzough their men. And therfoze I assure you, that who so euer of those, which at this daye haue states in Italye, shall enter first into this waye, shall be first, befoze anye other, Lozde of this Prouince, and it shall happen to this state as to the kingdome of the Macedonians, the which coming vnder Philip, who had learned the maner of setting armies in ozdzer of Epaminondas a Thebane, became with this ozdzer, and with these exercises (whilest the rest of Græce stode in idlenesse, and attended to resite commedes) so puissaunt, that he was able in fewe yeres to possesse it all, and to leaue suche foundation to his sonne, that he was able to make himselfe, pzince of all the woꝛlde. He then that despiseth these studies, if he be a Pzince, despiseth his Pzincedom: if he be a Citizen, his Citie. Wherefoze, I lamente mée of nature, the which either ought not to haue made mée a knower of this, oz it oughte to haue giuen mée power, to haue béene able to haue executed it: For nowe being olde, I cannot hope to haue any occasion, to be able so to do: In consideration wherof, I haue bene liberall with you who being graue young men, maye (when the thinges sayde of mée shall please you) at due times in fauoure of your Pzinces, helpe them and counsaile them, wherein I would haue you not to be afrayde, oz mistrustfull, because this Prouince seemes to be altogether giuen to raise vp againe the thinges deade, as is seene by the perfection that Poesie, painting, and wyting, is now bzought vnto: Albeit, as muche as is looked for of mée, being stroken in yeres, I do mistrust. Where surely, if Fortune had heretofoze graunted mée so muche  
state

The Venecians and the Duke of Ferrare begā to haue reduced the vvarre to the auncient maners.

He that despiseth the seruice of vvarre, despiseth his owne welth.





**Nicholas Machiavel**, Citezein  
 And Secretarye of Florence, to  
 the Readers.



O the intente that such as reade this booke maye withoute difficultie vnderstand the order of the battailes, or bandes of men, and of the armyes, and lodgings in the Campe; according as they in the discription of them are appointed, I thincke it necessary to shew you the figure of euerie one of them: wherefore it is requisite firste, to declare vnto you, by what pointes and letters, the footemen, the horsemen, and euery other particular member are set forth.

*Knowe therefore that*

- |   |   |            |   |   |   |
|---|---|------------|---|---|---|
| . | } |            | Target men.   | } | which are those<br>me that shote<br>with harkabus<br>ses & bowes. |
| . |   |            | Pike men.   |   |   |
| v |   |            | a Capitaine of ten men.   |   |   |
| r |   |            | Veliti a ordinarie.   |   |   |
| C | } |            | Veliti extraordinari  | } |   |
|   |   |            | a Centurion or cap-<br>tayne of hundred men.                              |   |   |
| k | } | Signifieth | a Constable or a capitaine of a bande<br>of foure hundred and fiftie men. | } |   |
| H |   |            | The head captain of a maine battaile.                                     |   |   |
| G |   |            | The general Captaine of the whole<br>armie.                               |   |   |
| t | } |            | The Trompet.  | } |   |
| d |   |            | The Drum.   |   |   |
| b |   |            | The Ansigne.  |   |   |
| f |   |            | The Standerde.  |   |   |
| m |   |            | Men of Armes.   |   |   |
| l | } |            | Light horsemen.   | } |   |
| A |   |            | Artillerie or ord inance.   |   |   |



In the firste figure nexte following, is described the forme of an ordinary battaile or band of foure hundred and fiftie men, and in what manner it is redoubled by flanke. And also howe with the very same order of. lxxx ranckes, by chaunging onely to the hinder parte the five ranckes of Pikes whiche were the foremoste of euery Centurie, they maye likewise in bringing them in battaile raie, come to be placed behinde, whiche maye be done, when in marching, the enemies should come to assaulte them at theyr backes: according as the ordering thereof is befoze declared. Fol. xxxij. fol. xxxv

In the seconde figure, is shewed howe a battaile or bande of men is ordered, whiche in marching should be driuen to fighte on the flanke: according as in the booke is declared. Fol. xxxv.

In the thirde figure, is shewed howe a battaile or bande of menne, is ordered with two hornes, Fol. xxxv. and after is shewed howe the same maye be made with a voyde place in the middeste: according as the ordering thereof, in the booke moste plainely is declared. Fol. xxxvi.

In the fourthe figure, is shewed the forme or fashion of an armie appointed to fighte the battaile with the enemies: and soz the better vnderstanding thereof, the very same is plainely set forth in the figure next vnto it, where by the other two figures nexte following maye the easier be vnderstode: according as in the booke is expressed. Fol. xliij.

In the fiftie figure, is shewed the forme of a foure square armie: as in the booke is described. Fol. lxvii.

In the sixte figure, is shewed howe an Armie is broughte from a fouresquare fashion, to the ordinary forme, to fighte a fielde: according as afoze is declared. Fol. lxix.

In the seuenthe figure, is described the manner of incamping: according as the same in the booke is declared. Fol. lxxviii.

figure.

This is the  
maner of or  
dering of  
CCCC. mē  
into, lxxx.  
ranckes, five  
to a rancke,  
to bring the  
into a foure  
square bat-  
taile vvith  
the pikcs on  
the front, as  
after fol-  
lowveth.

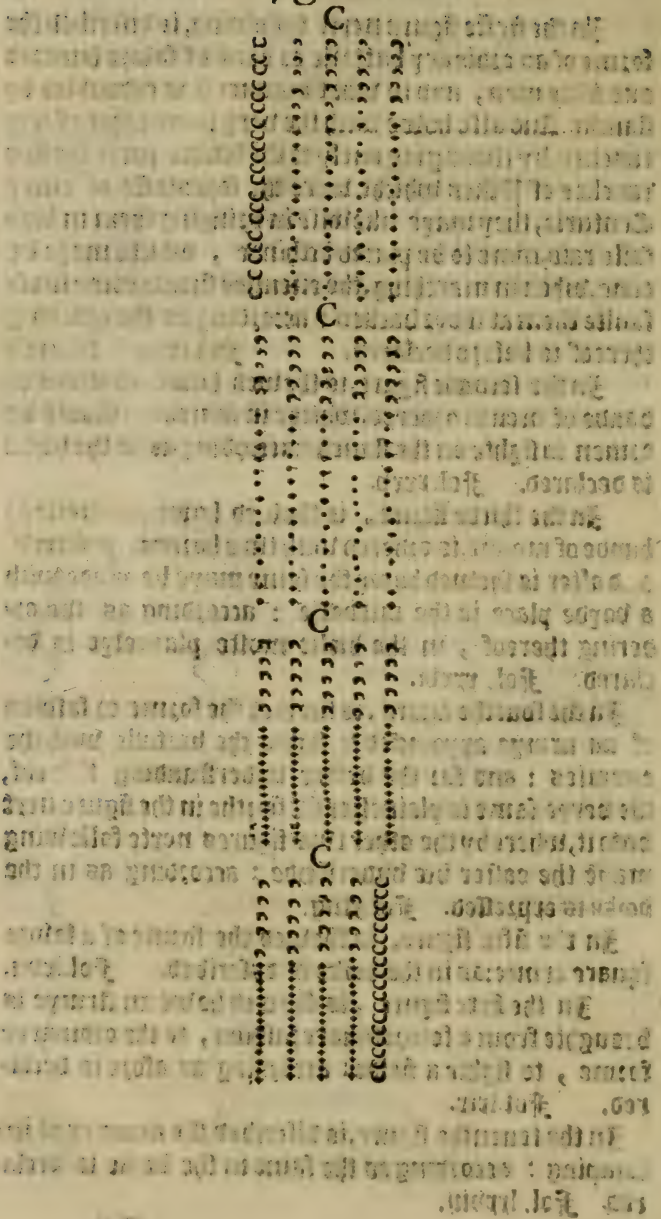
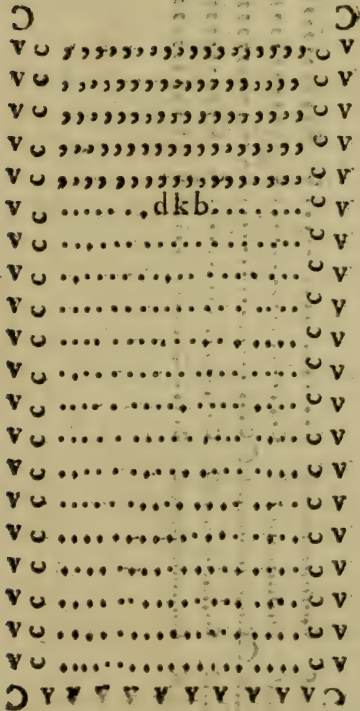




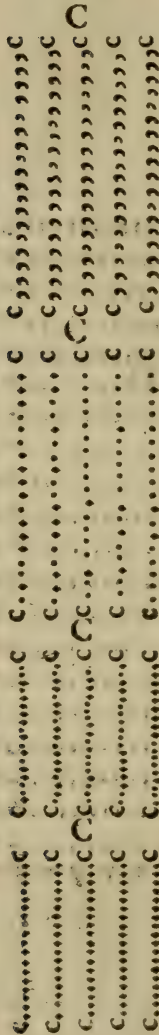
figure.



This is the  
 forsaide. lxxx  
 rāckes of. iiii  
 C. men brou  
 ghte into a  
 fouresquare  
 batrel, vvith  
 the pikes on  
 the fronte.  
 And the. L.  
 Veliric on  
 the sides and  
 on the back.

# The seconde

This is the  
maner of or  
dering of.  
CCCC. mé  
into. lxxx.  
ranckes, siue  
to a rancke,  
to bring the  
into a. iiii.  
square bat-  
taile vvith  
the pikes on  
the side, as  
after fol-  
lowveth.







# The thirde

These are  
the nōbers  
of rāckes ap  
pointed to  
make the  
horned bat-  
taile of, and  
the square  
battail vwith  
the voide  
space in the  
middest, as  
after fol-  
loweth.

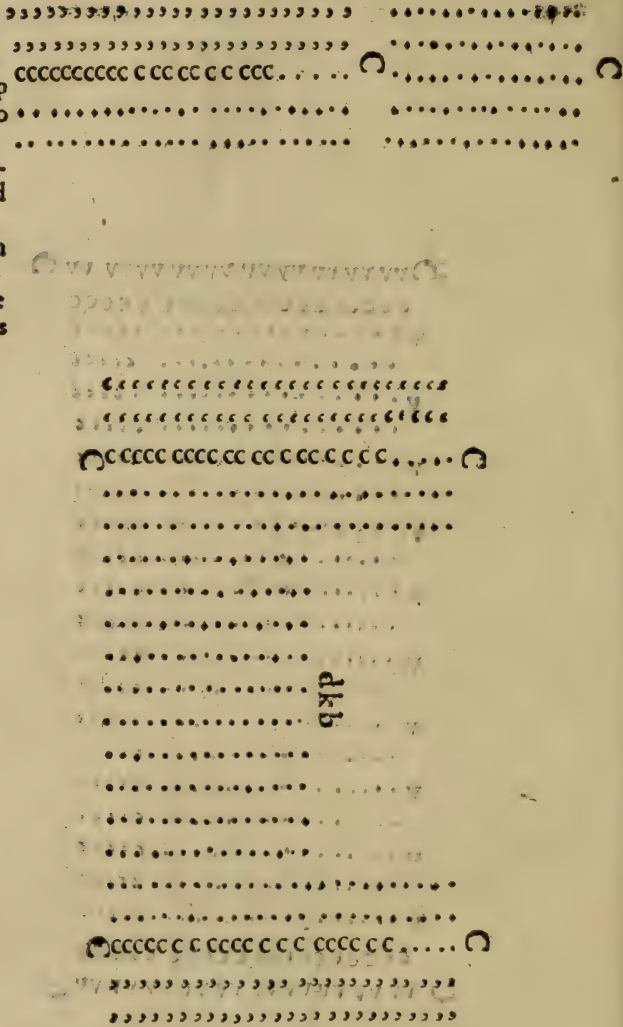
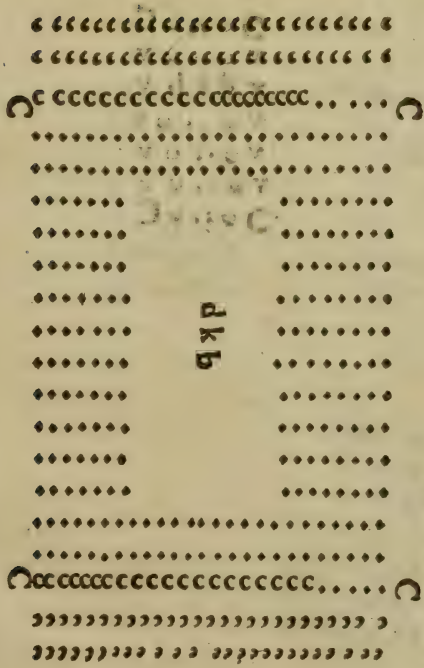
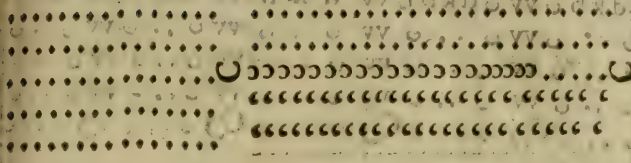




figure.



dkb

una nensiana ed a p

ff.

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Large handwritten text block in the right margin, containing several lines of text, including the word 'C' and other illegible characters.



















THE SIXT

m m m m m m m m	CvC	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C
m m m m m m m m	vvr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr
m m m m m m m m	vvr	dkb	rr	dkb	rr	dkb	rr	dkb	rr	dkb	rr
m m m t k m m m	vvr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr
m m m m m m m m	vvr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr	o o o o	rr
m m m m m m m m	vvr	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C
m m m m m m m m	vvr	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C	o o o o	C

dkbr, . . . . r  
 vvr, dkb, . . . r  
 vvr, . . . . r  
 vvr, . . . . r  
 vvr, . . . . C  
 vvr, . . . . C  
 vvr, . . . . r  
 vCr, dkb, . . . r  
 r, . . . . r  
 r, . . . . r  
 C, . . . . C  
 C, . . . . C  
 r, . . . . r  
 r, dkb, . . . r  
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 C, . . . . C  
 C, . . . . C  
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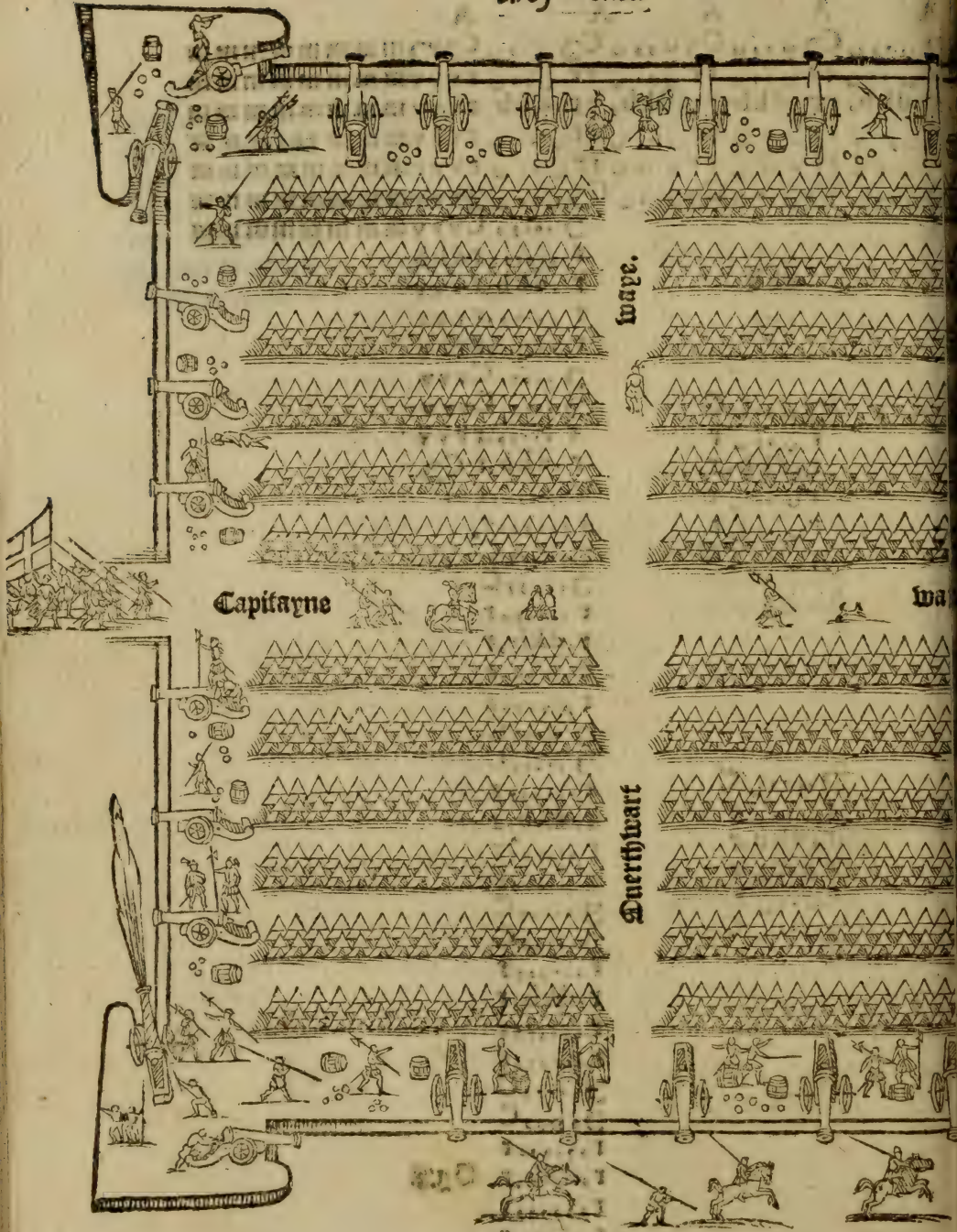
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 r o o o r  
 r o dkb o r  
 r o . . o r  
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 C o . . o C

o o o o C  
 r o o o r  
 r o dkb o r  
 r o . . o r  
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 C o . . o C

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waye.

Capitayne

wa

Quarthwart

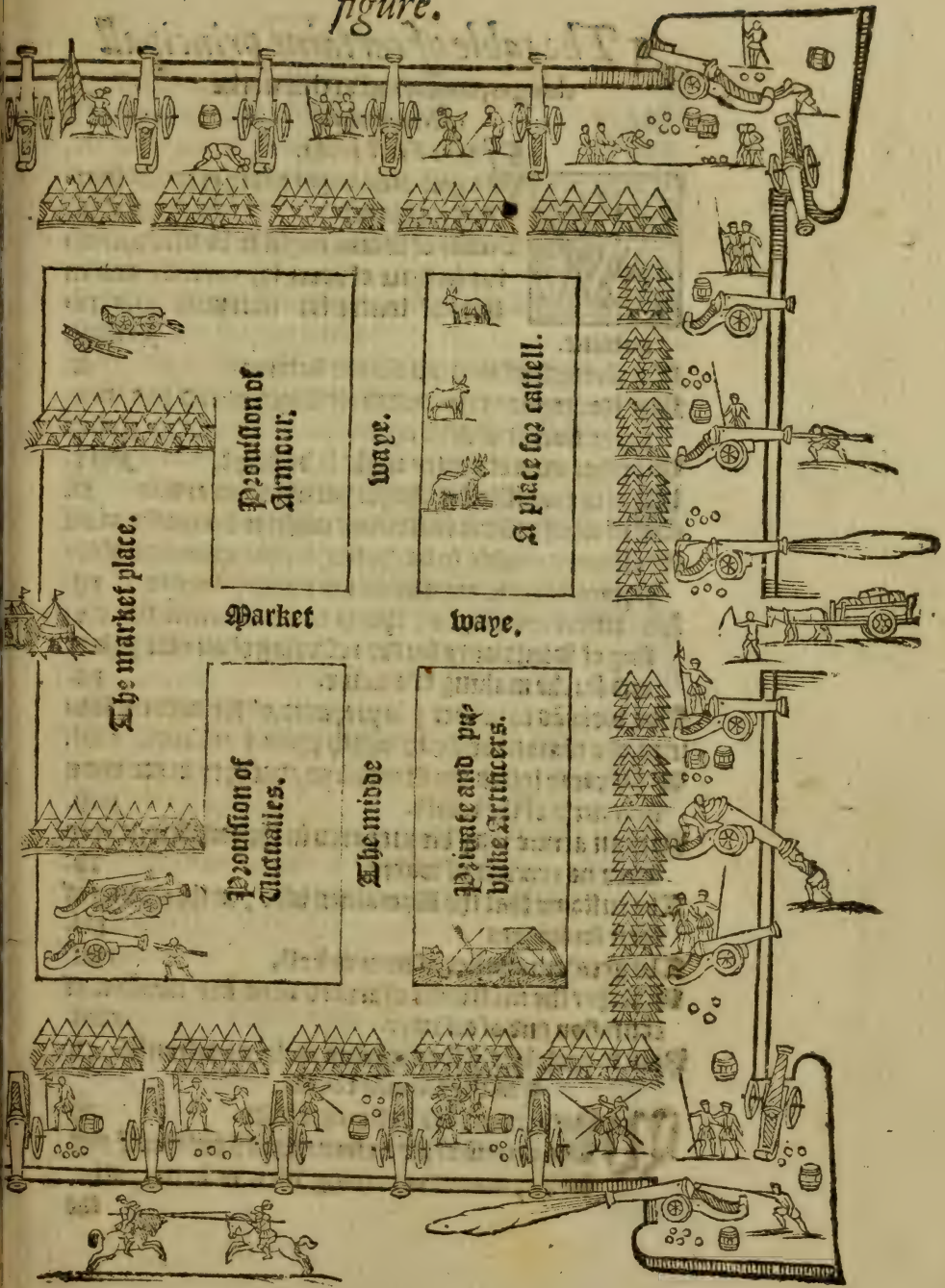
170



1700



figure.



The market place.

Position of Armour.

way.

A place for cattell.

Market

way.

Position of Victuals.

The wide

Private and publick Artificers.

# The table of certaine principall

things, contayned in this worke

of Machiauel,

In the First booke.



nowme.

- By a good man ought not to exercise warre  
fare as his arte. Fol. vi.
- Deedes of armes ought to be vsed privatly  
lye in time of peace for exercise and in  
time of warre for necessitie and re-  
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